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Izetbegovic, Tudjman, Milosevic Condemn Attack

AU1412164495 Paris AFP in English 1622 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Dec 14 (AFP)—The leaders of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia on Thursday [14 December] condemned grenade attacks that rocked Sarajevo at exactly the same time as they signed a historic peace deal in Paris.

"They reaffirm their determination to implement this accord in good faith," said a joint statement issued on their behalf by the French foreign ministry in Paris.

They "unanimously condemn the explosions that were reported this morning in the Bosnian capital at the time the accord was being signed," said the statement by Alija Izetbegovic, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman.

Bosnian authorities said four grenades were fired from Serb districts of Sarajevo. The army said two grenades fell into the river in the demarcation zone dividing government and Serb areas of the city.

The Balkan leaders' statement said: "They call on everyone on the ground, whichever community they belong to, to have faith in the future which has been available to Bosnia-Herzegovina since this morning."

Koljevic: Difficult Problem of Sarajevo Overcome

AU1412212095 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Interview with Bosnian Serb "vice president" Nikola Koljevic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Paris on 14 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. Koljevic, at the end of the Paris conference, may we hear your impressions (?on the whole)?

[Koljevic] I thank you for the expression on the whole. There obviously were some surprises at the last moment, but if one views everything, what is most important is that there is no return to war. The greatest powers stand behind it; the road to peace will not be easy, but it will be the road to peace.

What is most important for the Serb Republic is, first, that the Serb Republic is now starting to exist internationally as an entity with a great deal of autonomy [samostalnost], and, as regards the problem that kept coming to the fore, I think, that is, I received assurances that it would be solved. This is, of course, the problem of Serb Sarajevo and the municipalities where Serbs live. We first received guarantees regarding reconstruction and building from the international community and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, for those people who want to leave. As for others, those who want to stay, they will be protected, and we have international guarantees and will be having very concrete talks with Bildt's team very soon, as early as tomorrow. This team will be coming to our municipalities and to Sarajevo and I think that those issues will also be precisely set out.

As regards this last problem, we have constantly stressed one thing, and I think Bildt's team has shown understanding of this. What is indispensable is that people, I mean the people in Serb Sarajevo, should have two things: security and choice. They should know that they do not have to leave if they do not want to and if they convince themselves that they can get security. Second, they should know that they may leave and that they have somewhere to go if they want to do so. Choice is freedom and lack of choice is trouble. Therefore, this most difficult problem has been overcome today, and I think that tomorrow it will be overcome even more precisely in the talks with Bildt's team.

[Jevdjovic] Good, so this means that we have in fact finally reached a solution that can fully guarantee freedom and equality to the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and make possible a completely new perspective compared with what we [word indistinct] hitherto.

[Koljevic] I would add something that is a little more important than that and that is the possibility of cooperation with Yugoslavia in all spheres, ranging from the economic to the cultural, to cooperation between universities, to cooperation in all fields, such as the practical one between chambers of the economy. We are going to do and organize this very quickly, as now we have the right to do so. We have attained this right, and this cooperation will begin and people will see that we have not in fact been separated from our mother state, something I think is most important to the people in the Serb Republic, apart from political freedom and autonomy.

[Jevdjovic] The entire political elite of today's world is backing the Dayton accord and, it seems to me, Yugoslavia's peace policy. Can you comment on this fact?

[Koljevic] What has been won here is a battle that had been waged for a very long time. You know that we were practically isolated together with Yugoslavia and, at the end, this isolation has ended, the peace policy has won, and I think that Yugoslavia's return to the international community and our return through Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic is our perspective. [sentence as heard] As regards reconstruction, of course, that our people see that they will have the means to live, will have economic prospects, and, most important, that it will no longer be politically satanized. [sentence as heard]

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I have had occasion to talk about one issue that seemed to be missing. It will come about very quickly because there is the will on the other side to stop the media war as well. If we are going to peace, we must talk as partners, if not as close relatives.

French Minister: OSCE To Address Kosovo Issue

AU1512085795 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Herve de Charette, foreign minister of France, said on Wednesday, in a press conference held after the signing of the Declaration for Stability and Good Neighborly Relations in the Balkans, that the Kosova issue was discussed also during deliberations on the stability and good neighborly relations in the region. Asked by the KIC [Kosova Information Center] correspondent, Gani Azemi, to comment on whether the Kosova Albanians, 90 percent of the population, can be referred to as a minority, the French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette said several foreign ministers participating in the Wednesday meeting tackled the Kosova issue. "We stand for the resolution of the Kosova problem," Mr. De Charette said, adding that the Kosova issue will be addressed, beginning from January, by the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] organs, based on the Declaration for Stability adopted Wednesday. Regional cooperation and good neighborly relations should be pursued and "I see the settlement of the Kosova issue in this context," the French foreign minister said.

On the need for the resolution of the Kosova issue in the wake of the recent developments regarding former Yugoslavia and the Balkans, spoke the Hungarian Foreign Minister Kovacs, too. Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi was among the participants of the Wednesday meeting which saw the adoption of the Stability Declaration for the Balkans.

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Rump Yugoslavia Recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina

AU1412183795 Paris AFP in English
1820 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Dec 14 (AFP)—Bosnia-Herzegovia and rump Yugoslavia officially recognized one another as separate states Thursday, in an agreement struck on the sidelines of the Paris peace conference, informed sources said.

Foreign ministers Mohamed Sacirbegovic of Bosnia and Milan Milutinovic of Yugoslavia exchanged letters making the recognition official.

The two countries agreed to exchange ambassadors within 60 days of Thursday's signing of the Bosnia peace treaty by the leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia.

The latter country, along with Montenegro, forms the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Serb-dominated Yugoslavia exerts significant influence over rebel Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and thus its recognition of an independent Bosnian state is seen by diplomats as helping to consolidate the peace accord.

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Berisha Hails Signing of Peace Accord in Paris

AU1512103995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Berisha hailed the signing of the peace treaty on Bosnia-Herzegovina signed at the Elysee Palace by Bosnian President Alia Izetbegovic, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Berisha expressed his conviction that this agreement not only marks a historic achievement in establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also constitutes real encouragement and appeal for the international community and the Balkan countries to resolve other problems in the Balkan crisis, among which Kosova is the most important and acute.

EBRD To Finance Electricity Grid Improvement

AU1512084195 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 14 Dec 95 p 4

[Report by S. Faja: "Modernizing the Electricity Grid With Funds From International Organizations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An important project undertaken by the Albanian Electrical Energy Corporation is to deal with the transmission and distribution of electricity. An agreement has been signed with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] for a loan of 10 million ECU's which will finance this project. Olivier Descamps, director of the EBRD's project, said that the high level of wastage in the existing grid will be reduced and that the project will help to improve Albania's balance of payments by increasing the electricity export capacity. The project, which will absorb a total investment of $120 million, is the first of its kind to cover the entire country, rather than meddling with the system in a piecemeal fashion. The project will take between four and five years. Its completion will increase the Electrical Energy Corporation's earnings, revive its export capacity, improve electricity supplies, and encourage the grid's progress toward commercialization. The Albanian side will contribute $30 million, and five foreign cofinancers will join in. Besides the EBRD, the World Bank will contribute $30 million, and the Japanese, Italian, and Swiss Governments will contribute to the project. This is not emergency aid, but a program of investment that will help to adapt the grid to the structure of electricity consumption.

Agricultural Development Projects Described

AU1512093095 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 13 Dec 95 p 11

[Report by M. Baka: "Agricultural Projects Support the Reform—Total Value: $58 Million"]

[FBIS Translated Text] From its start, the reform in agriculture has been supported by foreign donors, whose cooperation has expanded every year. Apart from vital agricultural imports, cooperation started with the institutional support of the Agriculture and Food Ministry, which prepared a strategy and policy for agricultural development and for developing the skills of managers and specialists in all fields. The ministry's technical support has been valuable in preparing laws to enforce regulations in veterinary services, fishing, plant protection, food standards, etc. Mr. Ismail Baka, director of the agricultural program office, told KOHA JONE that the ministry is helping to prepare to negotiate a trade association agreement with the EU, which will aim not only to complete our basic legislation, but will bring our standards closer to those of the EU. Investment projects in the infrastructure with the help of the FAO, PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary], and SARA [expansion unknown] are another important area of agricultural reform. A project to rehabilitate drainage and irrigation networks is being supported by the World Bank, with financing also from the Albanian state and other donors. Small-scale irrigation systems are being rehabilitated in the lowlands and in four northern districts under the direction of IFAD [International Fund for Agricultural Development]. A total of 3,952 clients have been supplied with credit in various ways, with the help of foreign currency from foreign donors, mainly development funds and loans, but also with funds contributed by the Albanian state. Of these loans, 3,700 have been for agricultural machinery. Credit has mainly been given on concessionary terms for between four and 10 years at an interest rate of three to 10 percent for foreign currency or 20 percent in leks. Mr. Beka stressed that in the first phase during 1991-92, credit was given mainly for agricultural equipment. Now assistance is being extended to small and medium-sized businesses including processors of meat and dairy products, producers of bread and macaroni, and mills. During this year alone, loans of this kind amounting to $9 million were given to 70 borrowers. Credit development projects are also being accompanied by technical assistance projects to help to create private services for farmers. Mr. Beka emphasized that a network of private merchants offering agricultural supplies, especially chemical fertilizers, has now been created. The AFADE [expansion unknown] association has so far supported 13 agencies for the sale

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and service of agricultural machinery, while also developing private agricultural business consulting services. Besides credit schemes through banks and cooperation projects, small-scale loans are also now being granted to farmers. The Albanian Development Fund has so far started this scheme in more than 100 villages in different districts, and has assisted more than 4,000 farmers with credit for developing their farms. One important field of cooperation lies in he decentralization of development projects, which means that those who directly benefit are involved as partners. These partners may be agricultural directorates in the districts, farmers' associations, and private centers, such as in the agricultural project launched by the Netherlands in Fier, the Swiss project in Puke, the GTZ [German Society for Technical Cooperation] project in Vlore District, the French and Austrian projects in Korce and Corovode, and other smaller projects at commune or village levels. Specialists say that the primary objective is to advise farmers on the opportunities they have to organize themselves on a voluntary basis in order to make use of common resources for irrigation, marketing, processing, etc. The large number of foreign donors contributing to the progress of the agricultural reform in individual projects or through joint finance is very significant. Those involved in projects include international institutions such as the World Bank, the EU, IFAD, and FAO, while those involved in bilateral cooperation include US Aid and the governments of Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, and France. The Islamic Development Bank, Kuwait, OPEC, and Japan are involved in joint financing.

Unemployment During 1989-94 Transition Detailed

AU1512084095 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 14 Dec 95 p 7

[Report by Arlinda Causholli: "Unemployment During the Transition: 'Journeying' Through the Figures"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The economy is changing, and the labor market respects this fact. Unemployment in Albania between 1989 and 1994 had its distinctive trends. Last year, out of a population of 3,202,000, a total of 1,786,000 were able to work. Statistics show 261,800 without work, while in 1989 the figure was 113,400. During this period, the blackest year for Albanian statistics was 1992, when 394,000 out of an able-bodied population of 1,849,000 were sitting on the sidewalks. Thus, 59 percent were working in 1992 compared to 80 percent in 1989. Unemployment reached its peak in April 1992 at 26.5 percent, while in 1994 it was about 18 percent. A range of economic changes led to these fluctuations in the labor market. In 1991-92, many shops were privatized, and this created some jobs while others were lost. In 1992-93, small and medium-sized enterprises were privatized in a process involving many delays. Administrative measures hastened this process significantly. The reform continued with the privatization of some enterprises through bonds. Of course, the owners of these enterprises, who will be followed by others, are interested in taking on workers and thus reducing unemployment at least to some extent.

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Videnov To Visit Yugoslavia in Early 1996

AU1312205895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The issue of customs, specifying the amount of the debts, and the financial aspects of the trade exchange were the disputed aspects in the talks of Kiril Tsochev, deputy prime minister and minister of trade and foreign economic cooperation, at all levels during his official visit to Yugoslavia, he himself admitted at a news conference on 13 December.

He also announced that at the end of February or the beginning of March 1996 Prime Minister Zhan Videnov will make an official visit to Yugoslavia.

Russia Criticized for Not Delivering T-72 Tanks

AU1512080495 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 Dec 95 p 3

[Commentary by Nedko Petrov: "T-72 in 'Hide and Seek' Game"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The issue of the present we are expecting from Moscow—the 104 T-72 tanks—more and more resembles a game of hide and seek. The Russian gift, which amounts to about $500 million, was expected to arrive in Varna on 10 October. Afterward we heard that the tanks are behind the Ural Mountains, and that they are being delayed because of bad weather in Russia. Then we heard that the Russians had decided to await the results of the municipal elections in Bulgaria in order not to politicize the delivery of the weapons. Then Moscow announced that we must wait for the 17 December Russian elections so that the Russian taxpayers could not accuse President Yeltsin of freely distributing the precious national wealth in the form of presents. They did not specify that cutting the tanks according to the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty will be twice as expensive as giving them away as gifts.

The issue of the thanks will apparently move our public also in 1996. The Army rejoices at every screw it gets free, and the people who work with the combat equipment could not care less if the aircraft engines came from Germany or the tanks from Russia.

There again is no money for the military budget and there will not be any. We have not purchased new combat equipment for years, while all our neighbors not only rearmed their armies, but they also produce their own supermodern tanks and aircraft.

However, when someone declares that he is about to give a present, he should keep his word, precisely as did the Greek Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenic a few days ago when he presented Nicosia with 50 new tanks and 85 armored cars in accordance with the Greek-Cypriot defense strategy. This was done without any conditions or games of "hide and seek."

Defense Minister Pavlov Views Draft Army Budget

AU1512080695 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Dec 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov by Major Spirdon Spirdonov; place and date not given: "Variants of Increasing Army Budget Are Discussed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 11 December Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov; his deputy, Stoyan Shatov; Colonel Tsvetan Totomirov, head of the General Staff; Lieutenant General Anyu Angelov, deputy head of the General Staff; and Col. Ivan Ivanov, head of the Defense Ministry Finance Administration, took part in the meeting of the Commission on National Security, which discussed the draft 1996 budget, which has been proposed by the cabinet.

[Spirdonov] Mr. Pavlov, what are your impressions of the meeting?

[Pavlov] We presented the basic views of the Defense Ministry. We discussed the manner in which the ministry budget, as proposed by the cabinet, could be increased. We reached the conclusion that we must seek additional sources of income from the state budget. The first variant of increasing our budget involves a redistribution of the budget among the departments, something obviously impossible. The second variant involves increasing the budget deficit—something also unacceptable, because thus we will cross the 5 percent limit and cannot conduct talks with the IMF. What remains is the third variant—seeking additional income from the budget. The commission will ponder this issue until Wednesday [13 December] and then we will meet again in order to see whether such a possibility exists.

[Spirdonov] Has the draft budget taken into consideration the financial aspects of the Defense and Armed Forces Bill?

[Pavlov] Yes. Perhaps not fully, but the amounts needed for pensions, compensations, and rendering assistance have been taken into consideration. It is possible to implement the bill from the financial point of view.

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BSP Policy on Kurdzhali Said 'Unintelligent'

AU1512091995 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 11-17 December 95 p 5

[Article by Miroslav Durmov: "BSP Assumed DPS Image"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 5 December Ahmed Dogan and other Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] leaders met with the ambassadors from the EU member-states. Through this meeting, which was also attended by the ambassadors of the United States and Turkey, Dogan successfully played his trump cards against the exceptionally unintelligent policy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] on the issue of Kurdzhali. The DPS already demonstrated that it is not isolated internally and that in anything related to foreign policy it is supported by the president and certain institutions. Now it also demonstrated that it could internationalize the Kurdzhali problem.

The BSP did not appear in a convincing manner in the disputed region, and allowed the DPS to consolidate itself again. It must be pointed out that the last five years did not favor Dogan and the present DPS leadership, who had difficulties in protecting their constituency's interests. However, the attack against the DPS achieved a reverse effect.

The ethnic issue in our country was gradually fading, and this decreased Dogan's influence. By turning the wheel back, the BSP and DPS began to quarrel not with political and ideological arguments, but through purely ethnic arguments. The DPS was intimidating its voters by claiming that religious rights will again be restricted, while the BSP appealed to the Bulgarians to vote against the Turks?! The most stupid move was to try and perfectly imitate Dogan. The All-People Committee on Defense of National Interests and the Fatherland Labor Party have already tried this, and both failed. The BSP actions after the elections also were a crude political mistake. The election results have been contested not only in Kurdzhali but also in other places. Nevertheless, it is only in Kurdzhali that the oblast administrator refuses to convene the council within the legally prescribed term. This seriously undermines the confidence in the good intentions of the Socialists.

The BSP scored some negative points also in the international arena. It cannot convince its foreign political partners that it defends a position favorable to peace in the Balkans and to uniting the Bulgarian nation. The modern leftist party does not take into consideration the real change in the EU policy toward the Middle East countries, whose goal it is to prevent the advance of Islam fundamentalism. Europe is trying to develop active cooperation with those countries.

The BSP must also keep in mind the effect of its actions on our national security. We border on Turkey and Greece to the south. Bulgaria's interests require that we seek a balanced policy toward both countries. I would not like to think that the DPS defends only the interests of Turkey, while the BSP—the interests of Greece. This would be lethal for Bulgaria. How could the Socialists use in their propaganda campaign the claim that if an ethnic Turk wins the election the Makaza Pass will not open? The Greeks answered in a much more intelligent manner—that they will not connect the issue of the Pass to the issue of who is the mayor of Kurdzhali.

The BSP provoked in Kurdzhali a crisis from which it does not know how to get out. On the other hand, Dogan slyly internationalized the crisis precisely at a moment when Bulgaria is applying for membership in the EU and assumes the commitment to observe all EU requirements regarding human rights. The BSP allowed itself to utilize without any control certain fears and stereotypes of the population in this region. Thank God that for the time being there is no real reason for conflict.

Case Returns to Kurdzhali Court

AU1412181195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Kurdzhali Okrug Court has received the decision of the Supreme Court, which points out that the highest court does not accept the motives for the refusal of the Kurdzhali judges to deal with the six complaints that had been filed, and which contest the legitimacy of the mayoral election in Kurdzhali. Therefore, the Supreme Court returns the case to the Kurdzhali Court.

As is well known, the Kurdzhali Okrug Court refused to review the complaints and transferred the case to the Khaskovo Okrug Court, which for its part, transferred the case to the Supreme Court.

Vladimir Trifonov, chairman of the Kurdzhali Okrug Court, has set the first session of the court on the aforementioned case for 29 December. The court must issue a decision on the complaints within a period of three months.

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Havel To Visit Sarajevo 'Just Before Christmas'

AU1512120095 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 14 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by "zah, CTK": "Havel To Visit Sarajevo Before Christmas"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—President Vaclav Havel is to briefly visit Sarajevo just before Christmas. The Government Office announced yesterday that the Cabinet will deal with Havel's trip in its next session, which should take place on 20 December. Nevertheless, Presidential Spokesman Ladislav Spacek has not confirmed this information. He only said that Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic had invited Havel. Prague Cardinal Miloslav Vlk is also to head for Bosnia at that time, and he should spend Christmas Eve there.

Deputy FM Vondra Discusses OECD Entry, NATO

AU1512080195 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 12 Dec 95 p 3

[Interview with Czech First Deputy Foreign Minister Alexandr Vondra by Pavel Snajdr; place and date not given: "A Return to Communism or Socialism Is Impossible"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Snajdr] Could you sum up the developments in our country's foreign policy since 1989?

[Vondra] This period embraces a fundamental and complete shift in Czech foreign policy orientation. This major change also affects those who implement it. That means the entire foreign service and diplomacy. This period, of course, was characterized by many fundamental upheavals, beginning with the collapse of communism in the former Czechoslovakia. The de-ideologizing of our foreign policy in connection with its subservience to the power interests of the former Soviet Union was also associated with this. In essence, it involved a return to the normal sovereign independent foreign policy of a sovereign independent state through the medium of the cleaning up of the diplomatic service. The former era was also distinguished by the breakup of Czechoslovakia. The shift in the orientation of Czech foreign policy activities is also associated with this because the Czech Republic's geopolitical position is different from that of the former Czechoslovakia. I am convinced that we made it through the aforementioned period successfully. Czech foreign policy and Czech diplomacy have defined clearly their foreign policy objectives, interests, and priorities.

[Snajdr] Our admission into the OECD has, undoubtedly, added to the Czech Republic's reputation abroad. What is your view?

[Vondra] We submitted our application almost two years ago with the knowledge that there was a real chance of getting into the OECD in relatively good time and independently. This has now happened. Its significance lies, first and foremost, in its clublike nature. First: As opposed to many other institutions, organizations, or societies, the OECD is really a kind of exclusive club of advanced countries. To a certain extent, at the level of how we appear on the outside from the point of view of the success of our reforms, the advanced nature of our democracy and freedoms, and the promising nature of our market and economic growth, we have managed to show that we have accomplished a great deal and possibly more than the other postcommunist states. Its second significant feature is associated with this a little and is indispensable for certain self-esteem at home. The former Czechoslovakia was in the 1920's and 1930's one of the most advanced countries in the world, then it was devastated for almost 50 years. Now, we have managed formally to get back into the club of the advanced; we are no longer a developing economy and a developing democracy. It can be said that we are a developed country. Membership in the OECD does not bring security or economic guarantees; this will always depend, first and foremost, on us. It involves more in the way of minor advantages such as cheaper credits and easier access to information. On the other hand, our incorporation into the world economic system will bring us greater responsibility. We will also have to participate more in development aid in the world and help the weaker and less successful.

[Snajdr] Do you think this development is irreversible?

[Vondra] A return to communism or some sort of dictatorship or a return to complete socialism and a command economy is today just impossible. This is not even happening anywhere else in the world. The issue everywhere is faster or slower progression toward greater freedom, whether in politics or in the economy. I really am not concerned that there would be a danger of some sort of reversal. Of course, there may be various crises, certain dangers may arise, but, on the whole, I consider this trend to be irreversible.

[Snajdr] According to statements made by some senior Russian representatives, however, there is a risk of certain danger from the east in connection with our entry into NATO.

[Vondra] Russia will never welcome the enlargement of the North Atlantic Alliance and the entry of a new country located in the area between NATO and Russia. This is simply not in its interest. It is important that we do not subordinate our policy to Russian interests. The Czech Republic definitely does not intend to come under

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the Russian sphere of influence again. At most, Russia may accept our future entry into the alliance, somehow put up with it, and a constant effort both here at home and on the part of our Western allies is necessary for this.

[Snajdr] Are relations between the Czech Republic and Slovakia ideal at the moment? Does Slovakia not fall more into the eastern sphere and under Russia's influence?

[Vondra] First and foremost, it is up to Slovakia itself where it wants to be and with whom it wants to forge its relations. It is indeed determining its future itself. It is not up to us to define it for it. As far as Czech-Slovak relations are concerned, and this also applies to any other kind of relations, it is hard to talk about an ideal in foreign policy. Interstate relations always reflect a certain reality and the possibilities for the two sides. In view of the fact that Slovakia is a neighboring country and that we shared a common fate with it for more than seven decades, we, naturally, are interested in ensuring that our mutual relations are good and problem free. I think that, during the past three years, it has been successfully shown that these are relations between two sovereign states and not some sort of oddity, something that should be an open matter.

Germany's Kinkel on Czech-German Declaration

AU1512074895 Prague PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 95 pp 1, 18

[Report on interview with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel by Vera Ivanovicova in London on 9 December: "We Have Not Postponed Signing the Czech-German Declaration, Kinkel Told PRAVO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We have not postponed signing the Czech-German declaration." German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel told this to PRAVO special correspondent in London on 9 December in response to her question of why the signing is constantly being postponed. He said this after he held talks with his Czech counterpart, Josef Zieleniec, in the British metropolis.

Although no date has ever been officially set, both parties have unofficially referred to the end of this year or the date of the Czech parliamentary elections next June.

Kinkel pointed out that "thorough talks are conducted regarding the declaration" and added that he is "absolutely certain that they will soon be successfully concluded. This matter is so important that it should not be forced. After all, we must arrive at a result that will help to develop and improve the relations of partnership and friendship with the Czech Republic. The time factor and other related issues must be subordinated to this final objective," Kinkel said.

The head of German diplomacy also pointed out the sensitivity of the questions of the past. "There are questions of the past that cannot be erased. I believe, however, that both parties have the will not to allow the past to dictate our relations, albeit we do not want to forget how it was. We are concerned with creating good relations in the future, and I am certain that we will manage it," Kinkel emphasized.

The minister has emphasized the importance of the mutual relations between the Czech Republic and the FRG several times over, and the eminent interest of the Federal government in solving the relationship with such a "very important neighbor" as the Czech Republic also as regards the past so that the two countries can live as good neighbors. He promised that the Czech Republic can depend on Germany to do everything in its power to help the Czech Republic into the European Union (EU) and NATO.

According to Kinkel, his talks with Zieleniec had been extraordinarily intensive, and progress was made. Nevertheless, he did not want to go into detail. He emphasized that good personal relations between the two ministers help in dealing with the questions that are still open.

Also, according to Zieleniec, the topic of the talks had been, above all, Czech-German relations in the context of the discussed Czech-German declaration, which ought to confirm the quality of bilateral relations beyond the framework of the existing treaty. "It is important to reach an agreement on the way of expressing the fact that we no longer want to burden our relations with the past. I feel the will on the German side, but it is extremely important that we find the appropriate words so it can be clearly understood," he said. "We agreed to meet again soon and to discuss the entire issue thoroughly," Zieleniec concluded.

PRAVO learned from circles close to the Czech Foreign Ministry that Zieleniec's Friday statement on the Czech-German declaration had not been coordinated with Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party.

Foreign Financier To Take Over Czech Firms

96CH0008A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 7 Nov 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Maggie Ledford Lawson and Jan Stojaspal: "Foreign Buys Control Over Blue Chip"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] International inventor Michael D. Dingman has purchased significant stakes in eight

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blue chip Czech companies from Viktor Kozeny's Harvard investment funds.

The deal is the largest multistake sale of shares by a Czech fund and one of the biggest ventures of its kind in the former East bloc. It could mean major management changes in some of the nation's top companies.

Dingman and Kozeny—who are working together on the venture—have acquired a majority interest in Sepap (paper and pulp), Ceska namorni plavba (Czech Ocean Shipping) and Sklo Union (glass). They have taken a substantial minority stake in five others, including Prazska teplarenska (heating and electricity), Biocel (pulp), and Spolana Neratovice (chemicals). The other two companies had not been announced at press time.

Dingman, who has sunk $140 million of his own capital into the companies, also is eyeing other investments in the Czech Republic and in the Russian Federation, according to Prague attorney Daniel J. Arbess, who is heading the operation in Europe. Arbess would not specify other firms being targeted by Dingman's investment company, Stratton Investments Limited.

Financial experts said the eight Czech companies are generally profitable, well-managed and undervalued—the type of firms that send takeover artists into ecstasies over megabucks to be made.

Dingman and Kozeny are both major players in international finance.

Dingman, 64, who became rich by investing in American conglomerates, is chair of Fisher Scientific International and serves on the boards of numerous other companies.

Kozeny, 33, a Harvard-educated native of the former Czechoslovakia, is widely credited with selling the government's privatization scheme to the public. He left this country in early 1994 in the midst of accusations, later dropped, that he had received insider information from a former communist intelligence agent. Kozeny operates his Harvard companies from the Bahamas and reportedly had been considering selling off some of his assets because managing them long-distance had become a problem.

Despite the sell-off by Kozeny, his investment funds still control large stakes in the eight targeted companies, according to Arbess. After selling shares to Dingman's Stratton group, Kozeny purchased additional shares from other Czech investment funds, Arbess said.

Stratton representatives said their company paid Kozeny $140 million for the shares, a price Arbess said was "considerably in excess of the current market value."

Only through cooperation could Dingman and Harvard gain significant control of the eight companies. The agreement stipulates that the Harvard funds will vote according to Dingman's wishes on matters involving the companies, said Arbess.

In addition to the $140 million, Kozeny will also receive 10 percent of the increase in the value of shares sold in the future.

Many financial observers said the transfusion of cash and know-how from Stratton will bring the Prague Stock Exchange out of its sick bed, where it has languished for more than a year.

Share prices in the Harvard investment funds and in the companies targeted by Dingman rose following the announcement.

Petr Budinsky, deputy general director of Komercni banka, said he believes Dingman's decision to put capital into the market will encourage other investors to do the same. "It's a sign that the capital market has started to move."

Vladimir Jaros, research director at Wood & Company, a large Czech securities firm, said the investment sends a signal to the public "that there are a lot of opportunities" in the Czech market.

Stratton's public-relations firm, Burson-Marsteller CS, billed the investment as a sign of the arrival of the "third wave" of privatization recently called for by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus—one in which private owners take an active role in their investments.

Klaus said he welcomed the investment. "It certainly has a signaling effect—undoubtedly a positive one..." though he confessed himself unmoved by the news.

News of Dingman's purchase of the firms was leaked October 23 to such international newspapers, as THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Only after the deals were announced were managers and shareholders of the affected firms notified. The failure to inform shareholders ahead of time, illegal in the United States, is legal here. "We had no obligation to disclose anything, but we felt this was a good story that should be told and understood," said Arbess.

Although talks have begun between Stratton and the companies it has targeted, what's ahead for these firms is far from clear. "We'd rather have a majority interest (in all the companies), but Mr. Dingman is happy as a minority investor as long as management is willing to work with him," Arbess said.

Although Stratton representatives said at least some of the firms would be restructured, Arbess doesn't foresee

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massive layoffs. He added that well-known financial experts would arrive in the next few days to begin consultations with the companies involved.

Dingman has not yet put together detailed business plans for how the targeted companies will be run, Arbess said. "He looked at the basics, and decided these companies had good assets and good measurement."

Dingman, who has offices in Nassau, the Bahamas, would not comment for this article. Kozeny was in Washington, D.C., and could not be reached. Most of Kozeny's management team was also out of town, reportedly huddling on strategy in the Bahamas.

Some managers of the targeted firms predicted a brighter future for their businesses.

"There will certainly be changes. It looks like our already dynamically developing company probably awaits even a more dynamic development," said Oleg Tomes, general director of Prazska teplarenska.

Mel Racinsky, a vice president of Sepap, said, "It's business as usual. We continue to make pulp and paper, and the company is in the process of making money." He said he doubts that significant downsizing will take place.

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Army Battalion To Be Transferred to E. Slavonia

LD1412184295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Cabinet met in Bratislava today at the interrupted 50th ordinary meeting, chaired by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. Foreign Ministry Spokesman Juraj Matejovsky has phoned in information about two points on the agenda:

[Begin Matejovsky recording] At its session today, the Government of the Slovak Republic approved an agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and NATO on implementation agreements on the transit of the Armed Forces. The Government of the Slovak Republic has also agreed to transfer an engineering battalion of the Slovak Army under the UN mandate to Eastern Slavonia for the period of one year, where it will work together with the Armed Forces of Belgium, Russia, and some others. It will be an operation to safeguard peace in the area.

A report by the Government of the Slovak Republic and the National Council of the Slovak Republic concering the transfer of the Slovak Army unit will be submitted.

Commentary Questions Aims of German Policy

AU1512075595 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 Dec 95 p 3

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "What Does Bratislava Actually Want From Bonn...?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is common knowledge that not everything in Bonn-Bratislava relations is in the best order. The present Slovak Government is discontented with Germany, represented by Kohl's government, on a number of issues. High-ranking representatives of the Slovak Government make it plain, perhaps in an all too undiplomatic way, that, in their opinion, Bonn is one of the main engines behind the criticism of Meciar's domestic policies, criticism that manifested itself in the two EU demarches as well as in the unwillingness of the federal chancellor to meet his Slovak counterpart. While Bratislava is trying to offset this by developing relations with selected federal laender, this is inadequate compensation and only an appendix to the wide spectrum of relations because problems of principle are being decided in Germany on the federal level and not in Munich, Stuttgart, Hannover, or Dresden.

This is confirmed by the fate of a whole series of intergovernmental agreements, the signing of which is frozen because of the incomprehensibly stubborn insistence of the Slovak Government that the name German Federal Republic, a term from the Cold War era, be used in them, instead of the internationally recognized Federal Republic of Germany. Prime Minister Meciar himself feels offended and claims that, supposedly, Bonn would like to dictate to us even Slovak grammar. But he who knows Bonn's rigorous stand on this issue from the past will either dismiss this imprudence [neuvazenost], to use a mild term, by a wave of the hand or will be reminded of the defiant act of a small child who does not realize the possible consequences of his deed. At the same time, these consequences will have to be borne also by those [in Slovakia] who do not share the prime minister's opinion and whose present and future interests are jeopardized by this attitude. No wonder that, in his speech to the Bundestag [on 7 December], the German chancellor once again "forgot" to mention Slovakia when enumerating candidates for EU membership.

What is startling, however, is that, besides the unsolved issue of compensation of the Slovak victims of fascism, a far more dangerous idea is starting to haunt some hotheads in Slovakia. The official government daily openly demands that negotiations start on the issue of the so-called clearing balance from the time of World War II because, according to an agreement between Tiso's and Hitler's states valid at that time, Germany owes us 7 billion Slovak korunas, which, at that time, equaled 7 billion Swiss francs.

Whoever the authors of this idea may be, they obviously do not realize that this would open Pandora's box. The Slovak Republic, as the present holders of power themselves claim, is not successor to the totalitarian Ludakist state [of 1939-45]. Owning up to the claims of this state is therefore an aberrant idea, also because, 50 years after the end of the war, Slovakia would place itself among the defeated countries. As a result, even though this possibility is only theoretical today, states where Slovak soldiers had fought—that is, Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia—could demand war reparations from us. We were freed of this burden because, at the end of World War II, the allies recognized the legal continuity of the existence of the [1918-39] Czechoslovak Republic. This recognition had certain consequences, including the aforementioned clearing balance.

Even the very invoking of such spirits must impress Bonn, at the very least, as dilettantish simplemindedness, even if the original intention apparently was to give propagandistic support to Bratislava's tough stand. If someone in Slovakia believes he will obtain something in Bonn through defiance, he is wrong. Such belief bears witness, rather, to loss of sense of international reality. And this is a warning signal for the much-touted national and state interest.

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Kovac Sends Open Letter to SIS Head on Son

LD1412162295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The development of the situation, unlawful invectives by a sentenced criminal on television against my son and also against me, and other evidence of obliterating the crime of abduction abroad force me to react in a similar way to you—by open letter.

This was written in President Michal Kovac's reply to the open letter by Ivan Lexa, head of the Slovak Intelligence Service [SIS], which he sent to the president on 20 October.

As Kovac's letter goes on to note, the refusal of Lexa to strip the uncovered members of SIS of the right to remain silent and to make possible the inspection of cars and technical equipment is in direct contradiction to elementary principles of the legal state.

The president, at the same time, expresses surprise and concern at Lexa's interest in explaining the suspicion that the Bavarian prosecution holds against his son because, according to Kovac, this is not part of the SIS tasks.

The accumulation of information about the activities of the president of the Republic, his family, and working environment having been confirmed, SIS's interest in the Technopol case is another piece of evidence of unlawful activity, stresses the open letter by President Kovac to Ivan Lexa, the head of SIS.

Civil Servants Begin Petition Against President

AU1512080395 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Jarmila Horakova: "Are the Civil Servants at the Education Ministry Sealing Their Loyalty to the Government With Signatures?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—We found a "Declaration by Staff at the Slovak Education Ministry" on our editorial desk yesterday morning. We have decided to publish it. It contains the following:

"We, staff at the Slovak Education Ministry, are monitoring with indignation the political adventurism by certain forces in Slovakia who did not want our Republic's state independence. Some were indifferent to it, others even campaigned against it. We are state employees without political functions and political ambitions, but we cannot but notice the effect of those politicians who literally belittle our work and, by their statements at home and especially abroad, deliberately damage Slovakia's name.

"It is sad that the president of the Slovak Republic has placed himself at the head of these forces. He should in no way ignore the will of citizens expressed in elections. His endeavor to promote systematically and exclusively the aspirations of the political opposition, which was unsuccessful in the elections, is incorrect, and it is all the more shocking in that political forces that wish Slovakia ill are grouped in the opposition. The tragedy of our young and longed-for state is that it has to go through such a trial of fire. The president's dispute with our most supreme legislative body and the government is a struggle for the political survival of those who represent a unique interpretation of majority and minority according to the position in which they find themselves and, ignoring their responsibilities and the rights of others, call expediently and exclusively for their own rights.

"We endorse completely the points of view of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and the government and the declaration issued by the state administration central bodies on this tension, which is so very detrimental to our free and democratic republic. We love our homeland, Slovakia, and we want to serve it and work for it. It is, however, hard to work for its benefit if someone belittles and casts aspersions on this work."

The Editor's Opinion

It is said about education that it was depoliticized in 1989. But this declaration has an explicitly political undertone. The head of the ministry's office, Igor Chamula, briefed the directors of its sections on it on 8 December. All of the staff at the Education Ministry should express their views on the declaration in the next few days and should do so by means of their signatures on the record of attendance. We tried to obtain Igor Chamula's opinion yesterday, but he has been out of Bratislava the whole week. We did not catch up with the director of the minister's secretariat, Mr. Kapusta, who is sick. State Secretary Ondrej Nemcok was not personally informed about the whole issue; he only heard about it secondhand. We did manage to ascertain, however, that tension and concern about the future prevail at the ministry on account of this petition drive. The percentage of forces for and against signing it is about fifty-fifty.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 8 December on page 4, under the headline "Crocodile Tears at Foreign Courts," carries a 400-word "declaration by the staff at the Slovak Culture Ministry" signed in Bratislava on 7 Decen er. Comparison with the declaration issued by the staff at the Education Ministry reveals it to be virtually identical.]

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Parties Differ in Reactions to 1996 State Budget

LD1412203195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The parliamentary club of the deputies of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] is satisfied with the fact that many resources in the 1996 state budget approved by the National Council are targeted at the improvement of social welfare in Slovakia. According to the ZRS, this is exemplified by the situation in health care, which was given by 1.9 billion korunas more. In their statement, the ZRS deputies also positively assess resources earmarked for housing construction. In their view, another positive aspect of the budget is the recommendation to increase the minimum wage by at least 10 percent as of 1 April 1996, in both business and nonbusiness sectors.

In a debate on the draft state budget, the coalition deputies failed to support a substantial part of proposals for amendments presented by the deputies of the Joint Choice. This is said in a statement issued by the political parties forming the Joint Choice coalition. The statement goes on to say that the state budget is making savings at the expense of the poorest, and, on the other side, that it unilaterally supports the bodies of state power. According to the statement, the approved budget will result in an increase of social differences within Slovakia's society and will diminish its future developmental potential.

The deputies' club of the Democratic Union [DU] of Slovakia has also issued a statement on the 1996 state budget. According to the statement, it is striking that the sum of 25 million korunas was made available in the budget for the celebrations of the third anniversary of the Slovak Republic, but not a single koruna was made available for the national antidrug program.

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OSCE To Send Observers to Russian Elections

LD1412162095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The parliamentary assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] is to send a 100-member observers' group to the Russian parliamentary elections, which is to be held on 17 December. The deputy leader of the group will be Andras Barsony, deputy chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, who has already left for Moscow.

The observers' task will be to monitor the fairness of the Russian elections.

Slovak Group Circulates Anti-Basic Treaty Leaflet

LD1412185995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak parliament approved the budget late last night, but the other agenda point, the ratification of the Hungarian-Slovak Basic Treaty, is still on. Prior to the debate, however, an interesting leaflet was being circulated among the deputies. Ildiko Nagy has the details.

[Nagy] NARODNA OBRODA quotes a leaflet—which was circulated in the Slovak parliament—which calls for the deputies to reject the ratification, although this proposal, which was submitted to parliament on Monday [11 December], has already been rejected. There have been allegations that the four-page leaflet was prepared at the initiative of the leaders of Slovakia Plus. The leaflet stresses, among other things, that the Basic Treaty is not based on the principle of the equality of rights, and was only concluded at the pressure of a third country, France. This is why the possibility cannot be ruled out that this country will try to act as a judge in any bilateral conflict in the future.

According to the text, the Hungarian side has already considered the Basic Treaty as a cornerstone and a good tool in the implementation of its own anti-Slovak program. According to authors of the leaflet, by the treaty's ratification Slovakia will indicate to the world that the parliament, contrary to the nation's conscience, voluntarily approves the questioning of the country's independence. For the Basic Treaty allows the implementation of Hungarian ideas, such as the Carpathian Euroregion, or Slovakia's administrative division in line with the interests of Hungarians and, consequently, a territorial autonomy in south Slovakia, as a result of which Slovakia will lose key industrial objects, such as the Gabcikovo hydroelectric plant, the ship factory in Komarno, or the iron works in Kosice.

As the end of this process, the authors envisage the collapse of the independent Slovakia, or maybe the formation of a protectorate headed by a puppet government. This is why they call upon the deputies to reject the Basic Treaty and strengthen law and order in southern Slovakia to prevent Hungarian civil disobedience.

Opinion Poll Shows Drop in Party Sympathies

AU1512105695 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Dec 95 p 6

[Correspondent's report on result of opinion poll survey carried out in November 1995: "Sympathies in November—Voters Are Turning Away From the Parties"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some 23 percent of the people surveyed think that Hungary should continue to regularly pay its foreign debt, while 25 percent think that Hungary should initiate talks on rephasing its debts; however, 40 percent of the people think that Hungary should ask for the canceling of part of its debts. Some 6 percent of the people in the survey think that Hungary should unilaterally halt the repayment of debts. All this transpires from a representative survey of 1,000 people carried out for the conference of politicians of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], a conference entitled "Survival in a Democracy."

Although the KDNP rejected the Civic Alliance on 11 November, the politicians of the three opposition parties participated in the aforementioned conference held on 1 December. At the meeting, the opposition politicians learned the results of the survey we are now describing.

The survey first asked the people about the most urgent problem awaiting solution in Hungary. Some 31 percent of the people regard alleviating the social and subsistence problems as the most urgent task; 21 percent are urging the start of economic growth, while 16 percent call for a reduction in the population's tax burdens; 15 percent of the people demand an improvement in the situation of retirees. In connection with the energy privatization, 68 percent of the people think that it would be preferable not to sell large-scale energy industry firms to foreigners at all; 22 percent of the people would only approve of a minority foreign ownership, while 4 percent support majority foreign ownership.

Asked whether they regard themselves as strongly national-oriented, 40 percent of the people said yes, while 54 percent said no. In answering another question, 33 percent of the people said they were more liberal in

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thinking, while 54 percent said they were not liberal in thinking. It is interesting that 64 percent of the people regard themselves more conservative, while 26 percent do not. Some 51 percent of the people regarded themselves very religious, while 47 percent said they were less religious. Asked whether they had any reservations regarding Gypsies, 54 percent said yes, while 41 percent said no. Asked whether they are people who do not like Jews, 84 percent of the people said yes, while 9 percent of the people said no.

On the next series of questions, 50 percent of the people fully agreed that there is a lot of corruption in the activity of banks today, and 49 percent of the people said that wages are unjustifiably high in the banking sphere. According to 23 percent of the people in the survey, Hungary would be more secure if it joined NATO; 15 percent do not agree with this at all. There is a claim that the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] has a bigger influence on government policy than the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. Some 21 percent of the people in the survey did not agree with this at all, while 11 percent fully agreed with this. Some 46 percent fully agree with the conclusion that the MSZP really does not represent the interests of people living on wages and salaries, while 5 percent do not agree with this at all.

Asked about their opinion regarding the relations of the electronic and written media toward the government, 31 percent of the people said that the media is more pro-government, while 14 percent said that the media is more opposition-oriented, and 44 percent thought that the media and the press are balanced and neutral. The same question was asked in connection with the previous parliamentary cycle: 48 percent of the people thought that the press was more pro-government during the Antall cabinet, 13 percent said the press was more opposition-oriented, and 26 percent said the press was neutral.

Some 68 percent of the people said that they did not agree with Gyula Horn's activity; 23 percent said they mostly agreed. Some 23 percent of the people said the activity of the government so far was very bad; 35 percent gave them a grade of D, and 32 percent gave them a C. According to 43 percent of the people in the survey, Hungary would benefit from the breaking up of the present MSZP-SZDSZ coalition; 27 percent said it would be worse, and 30 percent could not answer the question.

The survey also wanted to know the extent to which people had confidence in the political parties. It transpired that people have the least confidence in the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] (34 percent), followed by the MDF (32 percent), and FIDESZ (30 percent). Some 30 percent do not have confidence in the MSZP either, and 25 percent do not have confidence in the SZDSZ. People expressed the least doubt regarding the KDNP (21 percent).

Asked about their opinion on the parties making up the new government after the elections slated for 1998, 55 percent of the people said that the FKGP would be a government member; 47 percent voted for the SZDSZ; 42 percent for the KDNP; 38 percent for FIDESZ; 37 percent for the MSZP; 33 percent for the MDF; 13 percent for the Workers' Party; and 9 percent for the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP].

It transpires from the survey that 39 percent of the people have already heard about the Civic Alliance, but 59 percent have not. Some 12 percent of the people in the survey thought it would be preferable for the FKGP to be members of the opposition alliance; however, 20 percent of the people opposed this, and 7 percent did not know. According to 12 percent of the people in the survey a FIDESZ-KDNP-MDF alliance would win the next elections; 30 percent of the people think this alliance would be a decisive power in parliament, while another 30 percent think it would not be a decisive power.

The survey also asked the people about their confidence or lack of confidence in well-known leading politicians. Most people continue to have little confidence in the present finance minister: 54 percent do not have any confidence in Lajos Bokros; then comes Gyula Horn (33 percent), Jozsef Torgyan (32 percent), Lajos Fur (31 percent), Ivan Szabo (25 percent), Viktor Orban (23 percent), Sandor Nagy (22 percent), Ivan Peto (18 percent), Gabor Kuncze (16 percent), and Gyorgy Giczy (15 percent). Turning the question around and asking people about whom they have a lot of confidence, most people (14 percent) voted for Jozsef Torgyan.

Finally, the survey asked the people which party they would vote for if parliamentary elections were held next Sunday [17 December]. It proves the prevailing political apathy that 24 percent of the people in the survey would not participate in the election and 3 percent do not know for whom they would vote. The list of political parties is led by the FKGP with 15 percent, followed by the MSZP with 11 percent and the SZDSZ with 7 percent. The three opposition parties together would reach 13

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percent (FIDESZ—5 percent, KDNP—5 percent, and the MDF—3 percent). On the list of parties outside parliament, the Workers' Party received 1 percent, and the MIEP received 0 percent; 1 percent of the people in the survey named another party. Some 24 percent of the people did not answer the question.

It clearly transpires from the survey that none of the parties increased their popularity in the last two months, but most parties' popularity dropped, and voters are increasingly turning away from the parties.

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Izetbegovic Makes Statement on Peace Agreement

LD1412223495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Statement by President of Bosnia-Herzegovina Alija Izetbegovic after signing the peace agreement in Paris on 14 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] This was the signing of what had been agreed in Dayton. I said that we were signing something that was not enthusiastically accepted by our people and our parliament, but by signing it we embraced a path, a way out of the war, a path leading us to peace, a path that will gradually lead to the healing of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, this is the first step on a long and painful path.

However, on my way out from the hall where the ceremony of signing took place, I learned that there had been incidents today, that a town was shelled. I do not know as yet whether there have been casualties [words indistinct]. This might be somebody's last attempt to halt the peace efforts and prolong war. The attempt, I hope, will be abortive [words indistinct] to halt something that the people want — peace. We have to [word indistinct] with the hope and do what we can for peace to be restored [words indistinct].

Silajdzic: World Will Prevent Aggression

AU1412164995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Report by Senada Cumurovic on a news conference held by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 14 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cumurovic] Half an hour after the accord had been signed in Paris, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic addressed journalists, first mentioning those who had made peace possible, who were, as he put it, the people with the guns, the people who had sacrificed their own lives, as well as those whose civil patience had made it possible to defeat fascism. Silajdzic went on to stress the role that the international community would play in the future process of stabilizing the situation in the region.

[Silajdzic] Two hundred thousand people have been killed in Bosnia and, of that number, 17,000 were children, which violates all known standards of civilization. With this today, the international community has obliged itself never to allow this to happen again.

With this peace and this signing today, the international community is announcing its intention not to allow any aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina and not allow any division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to this accord, Bosnia-Herzegovina remains whole, sovereign, and a democratic country.

[Cumurovic] Stressing the significance of the democratization of life in neighboring countries, as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is a prerequisite for peace, Silajdzic added the following:

[Silajdzic] Democracy is attained through (?elections), secret ballot elections, under the supervision of the international community, and also by enabling the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina finally to live under normal conditions. Therefore, the international community will also contribute to the development of democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina by helping with the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Cumurovic] The first journalist's question was connected with an event that occurred in Sarajevo just as the accord was being signed in Paris. Namely, Prime Minister Silajdzic was asked to comment on the Serb terrorists today shelling some localities in the city.

[Silajdzic] Today, while peace was being signed in Paris, the Serb terrorists responded with fire and bombs. The international community said today that it would restore peace and order [word indistinct] and, if need be, do so with force. It is obvious that, if they go on like this, force will have to be used against them and it will be used.

[Cumurovic] Asked why the accord signed today would not be wrecked by the situation on the ground, Dr. Silajdzic said the following:

[Silajdzic] This is the first peace accord to include a mechanism of implementation, so now we know who will implement the peace, whose duty it will be to implement it, and who is doing what. This is why we believe in it.

[Cumurovic] Is the issue of Grbavica [Serb-occupied suburb of Sarajevo] going to be solved within 45 days? Speaking about that, Dr. Silajdzic said that the issue could be solved if there was the good will to do so. If people continued to be manipulated, the implementation would be made difficult, but the accord would certainly be realized, he said.

Milosevic Interviewed in London on Peace Accord

MS1512094195 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by announcer Jon Snow at the Elysee Palace Paris on 14 December; from the "Channel Four" news — recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Snow] Is this a great day or a day of compromise?

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[Milosevic] I am convinced it is a great day. And this Paris conference is a symbolic end of one long way to peace, which was defined in Dayton, as you know.

[Snow] You asked today for evenhandedness in the dealings with the Serbs. In this evenhandedness do you accept regret for what has happened in the last four years?

[Milosevic] Well, I must tell you that it is not asking for evenhandedness for the Serbs; it is a pledge for evenhandedness for everybody, because of one simple fact: There is no possibility for success if there is no evenhanded approach. And it is completely in compliance with our general approach to solution of problem of Bosnia Herzegovina three years ago, we say then that only formula which can solve Bosnia Herzegovina problem is a formula which will equally protect interests of all three constituent peoples. My firm conviction, which will I am sure be proved in the history, is that civil war in Bosnia there was no innocent side, all sides were guilty, and innocents were only civilians who were suffering the misery of war, regardless of their nationality.

[Snow] Do you think then it is wrong to go after people like General Mladic, after Mr. Karadzic, to continue to try to prosecute them for war crimes?

[Milosevic] Well, I will not get into specific explanations, because the fact that nobody can be defined as a guilty before sentence by legal court sentence, and in general nobody in our country would like to defend any war crime, so let us not be misunderstood about that...

[Snow, interrupting] But will they ever be — will they ever be tried?

[Milosevic] Everybody has to support prosecution over crimes, but I want to repeat to you that I do not believe that one side were angels and other side were devils.

[Snow] Do you really think after four years of such bloodshed, that twelve months is enough to secure the peace?

[Milosevic] After free and democratic election in Bosnia Herzegovina my judgment is that situation will be defined as normal, and I believe that it is possible to have that free and democratic elections in Bosnia Herzegovina maybe in three months or in four, after that presence of huge forces will not have the reasons for long.

Army Vows To Comply 'Completely' With Accord

AU1412172795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At its regular meeting held today, the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, attended by all the corps commanders and departmental chiefs of staffs, discussed the Dayton accord and its implementation in the field.

The Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will completely comply with the given deadlines and will be ready for the peace agreed upon, although also for the continuation of war, it was concluded at the meeting.

Full attention was paid to the federal setup of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will soon form a united force with the Croatian Defense Council. In any case, our future will no longer depend on the East or the West, but on ourselves alone, reads a statement issued by the Press Center of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

'Mujahidin' Attack Federal Police Patrol 14 Dec

LD1412200695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the course of the evening we have received a report on several incidents that took place on the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation:

[Unidentified reporter] According to a bulletin issued by the Vitez Croat Defense Council [HVO], a group of mujahidin attacked a federal police patrol on the Zenica-Tesanj road at 1130 this morning. At a joint checkpoint in Brezovo Polje, armed persons travelling in a Toyota vehicle, registration number Sarajevo 2142A, refused to stop when requested by the federal police from Zepce. They continued driving toward Zepce instead. As they approached the next checkpoint, one of the mujahidin jumped out of the vehicle and opened fire on the police patrol, wounding two policemen. The policemen returned fire, killing five mujahidin.

A joint investigation was carried out by Croat and Bosniak officials who established that the above-mentioned vehicle neither asked for nor was given permission to travel to Tesanj. Brigadier Drago Dragicevic, commander of the Vitez HVO, and General Sakib Mahmuljin, commander of the 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, met afterwards and agreed on further joint action. Gen. Mahmuljin said that the mujahidin were travelling without the customary permission issued by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and that members of such formations frequently cause problems for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army itself.

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As far as such formations are concerned, it is worth mentioning that Alija Izetbegovic recently promised Richard Holbrooke that all mujahidin will leave Bosnia-Herzegovina within 30 days due to fears that they would create problems for NATO forces. [passage omitted]

One Croat Policeman Killed

AU1412181295 Paris AFP in English 1744 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 14 (AFP) — Islamic volunteer fighters and Bosnian Croats clashed in central Bosnia Thursday [14 December], resulting in the death of a Croat policeman after a car ran through a checkpoint near the town of Zepce, UN officials said.

"A vehicle with three or four Mujahidin drove through an HVO (Bosnian Croat) [Croatian Defense Council] checkpoint quite close to Zepce about midday. The HVO got into another vehicle and pursued them to a junction where a firefight followed with both sides firing small calibre weapons," said UN spokesman Major Lindsay Rumgay.

Both sides took casualties, with at least one death among the Bosnian Croat police who gave chase to the Islamic volunteers, Rumgay said.

The so-called Mujahidin are irregular, non-Bosnian units fighting with the Bosnian army.

UN peacekeepers maintain a presence at the checkpoint, a former frontline from the 1993 war between Bosnia's Moslems and Croats which ended in the formation of the Moslem-Croat federation in 1994.

Under the Dayton peace accord signed in Paris on Thursday, all foreign forces are to be withdrawn from the former Yugoslavia, and Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has pledged to send the Mujahidin fighters home.

U.S. negotiators of the Dayton accord have insisted on the volunteers' removal because of fears over the safety of U.S. troops due to deploy in the country as part of NATO's peace enforcement force, IFOR [Implementation Force].

Serb TV Criticizes Media Reaction to Pilots

AU1512120195 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 13 Dec 95

[Commentary by Rade Malesevic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Frederic Chiffot, the pilot of the French combat aircraft, and Jose Souvignet, his navigator, were downed on 30 August over the wider Pale area. They were flying on a combat mission. A Serb missile hit their Mirage, and our ground troops captured the pilots. This is a short account of the mission of the aggressor's jet and its crew. Its downing provoked a violent backlash by the entire world, and all media demanded the release of the pilots. And there is nothing wrong with that.

Shortly afterwards, two Serb correspondents, Predrag Popovic and Ninko Djuric, were captured by the Muslim army in Vozuca. Both were killed. International organizations were informed about that, but did not react. On 23 September, a Serb Radio Television crew was ambushed by the Muslims on Mt. Ozren. There were four people in the car, but only two managed to get away, one of them a correspondent. The driver and assistant cameraman Goran Becinovic were killed. We still do not know what happened to cameraman Sasa Kolevski. The world was informed about this case, and still there was no reaction.

Are two French pilots more valuable than four Serb journalists? Are they more valuable than dozens of Serb civilians killed by the lethal cargo dropped by Phantoms and Mirages? Or is it that the value of people who were killed is measured by their nationality? Perhaps even by their allegiance to a military alliance? The pilots should have been released, there is no argument about that, but was it necessary to kill the Serb journalists? And the world.... It does not understand that one good turn deserves another.

SDA Leader, Sarajevo Official Comment on Accord

AU1512103895 Paris AFP in English 1000 GMT 15 Dec 95

[By Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Dec 15 (AFP) — A day after Balkan leaders signed an historic peace accord for Bosnia, the countdown to the deployment of a major NATO force began Friday with the city's daily newspaper running the headline "Welcome Peace."

Other voices in the city however gave a mixed reaction. Mirsad Ceman, of the ruling Moslem-led SDA [Party of Democratic Action; Ceman is SDA secretary general] party, said: "There are no overjoyed people on the streets of Sarajevo or around Bosnia but the peace agreement is a painful compromise that is necessary."

Many in the country balk at the fact that under Bosnia's peace accord the republic will be divided between rebel Serbs and a Moslem-Croat federation on a roughly equal basis. Tens of thousands have been expelled from their homes in Serb-controlled areas but have little hope of returning despite certain guarantees in the accord.

President of the city council Ivan Vidovic said: "No one except us, especially Sarajevans, know how much we

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need peace. It is very important that we have the...forces for implementation of peace."

Within four days, NATO commanders will take over from the UN peacekeepers who for more than two years blundered their way through a series of failed efforts to stop the fighting.

The United Nations Security Council was expected to give a formal green light Friday to deployment of a NATO-led peacekeeping force in Bosnia. The Implementation Force (IFOR), as it will be known, will be authorized to use "all necessary measures" to ensure compliance with the peace deal.

Around a half of the expected 60,000 troops are already in Bosnia. However, some 20,000 U.S. ground troops are due soon though American officials admitted that their deployment was behind schedule. Reinforcements for the large British and French contigents will follow in the coming weeks. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik Urges Unity of Sarajevo Serbs

LD1412213795 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, received the mothers of fallen soldiers in Vogosca this afternoon. They discussed activities and concerns in connection with the resolution of the problems of the families of fallen soldiers or war disabled, and also the resolution of the status of Serb Sarajevo. We have just received this telephone report:

[Correspondent] This evening, in the Sarajevo municipality of Vogosca, Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, had a meeting with members of the families of fallen soldiers and familiarized them in detail with the Dayton negotiations, the provisions of the agreement, and ways of implementing it.

Those present here were naturally most interested in the provisions relating to Serb Sarajevo and the possibilities facing them in this difficult situation.

Assembly President Krajisnik expressed his conviction that we must preserve our city. But it can be preserved only if we are resolute and know what we want. In the worst case scenario, that is if the Serbs have to abandon Serb Sarajevo, a plan has been drawn up on the basis of which the rapid and effective evacuation of citizens and property would be carried out.

In view of the fact that a political struggle lies ahead, President Krajisnik once again appealed for unity and said that it is only in this way, even if the worst happens, that the Serbs can be offered compensation.

If departures take place in a disorganized and individual way, and panic is engendered among the population as a result, these individuals will be marked out in an appropriate way, and will thus probably be depriving themselves of the chance of receiving any kind of compensation.

The people who have heroically defended their city deserve to remain there with their own authorities. The unity of the people in this area is the only chance for the inhabitants of Serb Sarajevo to secure the best possible status for themselves in the period ahead.

Karadzic Abolishes 'State of War' After Signing

LD1512084595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0048 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 15 Dec (SRNA) — Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, on the occasion of the signing of the peace accord in Paris, today abolished the state of war on the territory of the Serb Republic, converting it into a state of immediate war danger.

Karadzic abolished the state of war on the whole of the territory of the republic except in the suburbs of Serb Sarajevo, the Serb Republic's press office announced.

According to the same source, in the Serb Republic "there will be in force regulations envisaged for the state of immediate war danger, with normal working of the legislative and executive authority," while the "regulations for Serb Sarajevo will be established at a later stage in cooperation with the city assembly."

Croat Defense Chief on Situation After End of War

LD1412194695 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In this news bulletin we give the first reactions of Croat officials from Bosnia-Herzegovina on the signing of the peace agreement in Paris. Here is what Vladimir Soljic, minister of defense and member of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, told Milan Vega.

[Begin recording] [Vega] Mr. Minister, the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina was signed in Paris today. Tell us what it means from the point of view of defense.

[Soljic] It means the cessation of war operations, and from that stem many things, among which is the arrival of international troops under the auspices of NATO and under the name of IFOR [Implementation Force]. These forces are arriving on the basis of an established

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mandate with very broad authority. Among other things, they have unrestricted freedom of movement throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is why I appeal to all members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] to accept IFOR as a reality, to enable it to realize the tasks established by the mandate, and to act exclusively on the commands and instructions of the Ministry of Defense of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna. All those who act to the contrary, of their own accord, will be acting against the interests of the Croat people and will be accountable.

In this war all nations have lost a lot and that is why peace has not been enthusiastically greeted among any of the nations. However, overall, the Croat nation has achieved the most of its planned targets and has suffered fewer human and material losses than the other two nations. The main objectives have been realized — we have a Croatian state and in Bosnia-Herzegovina we are an equal, constitutive nation and we control 22 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. And all the rest is a continuing process, a competition that will last for a long time, except that the battle will probably not be fought — at least for the time being — with arms but by political means.

[Vega] After the establishment of peace some HVO units will be demobilized. We will continue to have our army and police which will guarantee the survival of the Croat nation on these territories.

[Soljic] The international community has more or less decided to create a military balance in this area, and the military component will be calculated in accordance with this, in other words, the number of soldiers of the three nations — that is, in the army of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, the army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the HVO. However, it was to be expected that sooner or later the war would, like every war, come to an end, and for everyone to whom the army is not a professional occupation this is, no doubt, good news. Now, along with a series of changes in behavior, both in the political and the military sphere, there will follow demobilization which will also be implemented according to plan. That is why we are calling on all members of the HVO not to take any arbitrary actions on their own initiative, but to obey the orders and instructions of the Ministry of Defense of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

[Vega] Mr. Minister, thank you very much.

[Soljic] Thank you. [end recording]

IMF Head Backs Bosnia Membership, Loans

LD1512135195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1241 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 15 (TANJUG) — International Monetary Fund (IMF) Managing Director Michel Camdesuss on Thursday backed Bosnia-Herzegovina's bid for membership in the organisation and said the IMF was ready to give the country emergency loans once it had joined the IMF.

'I expect to be able to recommend Bosnia-Herzegovina's membership in the IMF at a formal board meeting to be held next week,' Camdesuss said. 'Moreover, I expect to recommend approval of financial assistance ... immediately upon Bosnia's becoming an IMF member.'

The credit will come from a special lending window approved by IMF member nations in October that allows the fund to give money without tough conditions to countries that need emergency loans to rebuild their shattered economies.

Bosnia is behind on its debt payments to the IMF by some 45 million dollars which must first be cleared before it can become a member. The debts were inherited from the former Yugoslavia.

Netherland's Central Bank will help Bosnia clear the arrears with a bridge loan, Camdesuss said after an informal meeting of the IMF's board on Thursday.

Tuzla-Podrinje Canton Governor Answers Critics

AU1112204195 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 95 p 5

[Interview with Izet Hadzic, governor of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by F. Sinanovic; place and date not given: "I Am Not Leaving Tuzla!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Dayton agreement envisages that elections will take place within six months of the signing. The election campaign has already started. Izet Hadzic, governor of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, and the so-called "Kalesija lobby" in Tuzla are often the targets of newspapers and journalists, mostly the independent ones, in the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton.

Izet Hadzic has been described as "an honest but incapable politician." He comments on this:

Tied Hands

[Hadzic] First of all, I am glad to hear that people say this about my honesty. Second, regarding the accusation of being incapable, I will not say that I have never made

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a mistake, but, I assure you, the main reason why the canton has still not done some things is the deadlock in the implementation of the Federation. The Tuzla-Podrinje Canton was founded before all the others, but what is the use of that when relations and legal relations between the Federation, the canton, and the municipality have still not been entirely regulated by law? Therefore our hands are often tied. I believe that things will move faster and more smoothly after Dayton.

[Sinanovic] There are articles and rumors about your departure. They even mention the ambassadorship in Malaysia and your possible successors.

[Hadzic] Such rumors are just wishful thinking. It seems that many of those who would like me to leave, who would not like me to stay in the position that I occupy, are troubled more by my honesty than my incapability. In any case, I will stay on at least until the first elections. Afterward, it will be as the electorate decides.

Political Option

When the so-called "Kalesija lobby" is mentioned in Tuzla, one hears the name of Izet Hadzic, the current governor of the Tuzla Podrinje Canton, until recently the president of the Kalesija Municipality, and still president of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] in Kalesija, then Hazim Rancic, minister of internal affairs in the Canton Government, Professor Besim Canic, secretary of the Mufti's office, Hasan effendi Spahic, chairman of the Tuzla OIZ [Islamic District Community], and Jusuf effendi Husejnovic, the officer in charge of religious issues in the 2d Corps [of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army]. About the attacks on the so-called "Kalesija lobby," Izet Hadzic has this to say:

[Hadzic] When the Kalesija lobby is attacked, what in fact is being attacked is the idea, the political views advocated by these people. I am personally happy to belong to a circle of such people. Of course, these views are not the prerogative of us from Kalesija. They are the views of all good, honest, and honorable people in Bosnia. It goes without saying that a rivalry exists between the political views of which Kalesija and Tuzla appear to represent. I would not like that to create some kind of essential division among the citizens, and here I mean Bosniaks first of all. But, to conclude, let me say that Kalesija was the first town in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be liberated. So those who are being attacked now were the first, as early as on 23 May 1992, to liberate their town from the claws of the chetniks.

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Granic Comments on Not Normalizing Serb Relations

LD1412230395 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2140 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Anchorman Tihomir Ladisic] We have Croatian Foreign Minister Dr. Mate Granic on the phone from Paris with his first and exclusive statement. Dr. Granic, good evening. [passage omitted]

Mr. Granic, Croatia has warned that there is no peace in the region without the resolution of the problem of occupied areas and the normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia. Not only was that recognition not achieved in Paris today, you did not even sign an agreement on the normalization of relations. According to what we have learned from diplomatic circles, this was because of Serbia's territorial demands regarding Prevlaka. Is this true and why did Croatia not react?

[Granic] That is true. An agreement on normalization has not been signed because the Serbian side proposed an agreement on the triple exchange of territory that we energetically rejected and did not wish to talk about it. That is the main reason.

In this respect Croatia stressed at all meetings that the fundamental issue of peace and security in the region at present is speedy reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem. I think that everyone now takes this seriously, because Croatia clearly has other means to reintegrate that area in its legal system more speedily.

We received strong support from the United States, particularly from U.S. President Bill Clinton in his talks with President Tudjman. We likewise got support at other levels, from U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, to the effect that the Americans and their General Clarke, who is to be the civilian and military administrator, will immediately begin talks regarding additional forces which should assume responsibility for the implementation of the agreement, for demilitarization within one month of their deployment.

[Ladisic] Mr. Granic, thank you for this first and exclusive statement following the signing of the agreement in Paris.

Joint Council Accord Signed With Bosnian Leaders

LD1412172495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Dispatch by correspondent Tihomir Vinkovic from Paris]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] French President Jacques Chirac has met in the Elysee Palace with Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, the last of the Croatian President's meetings in Paris.

President Tudjman, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, and Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, signed an agreement at the French Foreign Ministry this afternoon on establishing a joint council for cooperation, the text of which I will read in full:

Resolved to make a contribution to lasting and just peace in the region, aware that international cooperation is in their interests and of wider importance, prepared to undertake everything necessary in their own countries and in the international sphere in order to take part in European integration, interested in cooperating with the international community in the reconstruction and development of their countries, the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina have reached agreement on the following:

1. A joint council is established for cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, referred to hereafter as the Joint Council.

2. The Joint Council for cooperation will be concerned with the promotion, strategic planning, and coordination of cooperation as follows:

—In relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly in the areas of education, science, technology, information, tourism, sports, environmental protection, social policies, economic relations, and the promotion of cooperation between nongovernmental organizations,

—In relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly in the areas of coordination of foreign policy and relations with third countries and international organizations, coordination of activities concerned with affiliation to the EU, Council of Europe, the Partnership for Peace and cooperation with NATO, and in dealings with other regional, European, and wider associations, the coordination of development and cooperation with the international community in the area of reconstruction and development, in military cooperation, in the solution

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of questions of the succession of the former SFRY, and other issues of mutual interest to the two states.

3. The Joint Council will have 10 members, five each from the Republic of Croatia and from the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, will be president of the Joint Council and Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be vice president. The parties will appoint the members of the Joint Council within 15 days following the signing of the agreement. [passage omitted]

Belgrade, Pale 'Game' To Thwart Accords Viewed

AU1412181095 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 95 p 5

[Commentary by Ivkica Bacic: "Already Seen Serbian Game"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Until London, he has fulfilled no promise he has ever given. Will he do that in Paris? It is the "word of honor" given by the Serbian president in Ohio, having tried to convince the Americans that Karadzic and Mladic would not only "voluntarily" realize all the usefulness of the Dayton agreements for the (all) Serbian national cause, but also that the notorious and criminal pair from Pale would "voluntarily" give up power and withdraw—to somewhere where they could not be reached by The Hague's hand of justice.

Instead, Milosevic and his media kept an utterly benevolent eye on the "happening of the people" in the suburbs of Sarajevo under Serb control, the unabashed ecstasy of Karadzic's followers caused by the burning of the U.S. and Bosnian flags, the commentaries from Pale saying that the Dayton "verdict" on Sarajevo as an undivided city "is a monstrous injustice to the Serbs." Therefore, as Serbian media impartially reported, a "referendum will be held" in four suburbs of Sarajevo (on 12 December, on the eve of the Paris conference), so, let the people decide whether they will live under "Turkish-Ustasha authority!"

Occupied with the post-Dayton purge in his Socialist Party (Milosevic's estimation that it was first necessary to kill politically a couple of troublesome Serbian witnesses—Borisav Jovic, Mihajlo Markovic, Milorad Vucelic, and others—is very interesting and significant), the powerholder from Dedinje has allowed Karadzic and Mladic to "survive" until the London conference. And not only that, but also to come to full swing—to draw the attention of the world public by ultimately demanding changes in the Dayton agreements, that is, by adding at least "special guarantees" for the Serbs from Sarajevo to whom without them, allegedly, "there is nothing else left but to choose between a coffin and a casket."

The fact that Paris has hastily withdrawn General Bachelet (commander of the UN troops in Sarajevo) because of his statement, pales before the fact that French President Chirac himself shed crocodile tears over the destiny of a part of the Serbs from Sarajevo. He has even written to Bill Clinton about that, without mentioning, however, even one word about his concern for the destiny of the Croats and Muslims in the areas under Serb control. He subsequently excuses himself by saying that, here, France does not ask for a change in the peace agreement, but "only" its improvement. In favor of the Serbs, of course.

If one adds a "little" diplomatic incident caused by Italian Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli on the occasion of her visit to Sarajevo, when she secretly met with one of Karadzic's close assistants (she promised all her assistance in trying to postpone at least temporarily the solution on Sarajevo as one undivided town), it becomes clearer why Milosevic—strengthened after Ohio, according to the majority of observers—has not decided to eliminate Karadzic and Mladic (yet). Namely, it was necessary, before London and Paris, to create an atmosphere as if the Serbs in Pale did not accept what was initialed in Dayton by the hand from Dedinje, and then, by the method of blackmailing and pressures upon the international negotiators, and excusing themselves by "spontaneous dissatisfaction of the people," to try to change some parts of the initialed paper.

There is nobody more suitable for this ancient Serb "game" than the criminal pair from Pale, because the Bosnian Serbs will sooner follow them rather than someone like Milorad Dodig (chief of a group of Banja Luka representatives, allegedly in the opposition to Pale), recently denounced as Milosevic's favorite. One who perfectly fits into this already seen Serb "game" is also Nikola Koljevic, revealed by some independent Belgrade circles as Karadzic's successor, in fact, the man Milosevic entrusted with a "special task"—assisted by a group of high officers headed by Milan Gvero, he is to go "hunting" after Karadzic and Mladic. The time limit is, allegedly, short—until the signing of the agreement in Paris.

And, although his time to execute "the order" is running out, this alleged Karadzic opponent has spoken out with thunderous support for the "happening of the people" in the suburbs of Sarajevo, because "it could influence the status of that town." Moreover, Koljevic says, "the changes in the agreement would be suitable to the superpowers, and the Dayton agreement is all the same one big improvisation which solves nothing."

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Because of all the factors mentioned above, I am prone to believe in "the possibility of settlement" between Belgrade and Pale, which is already pending. This is because I think Milosevic has not gained as much political strength after Dayton as the "easiness" by which he has removed his most faithful fellow-travelers, Jovic and company, from the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] should suggest.

Merciless purges do not have to be a proof of his strength. They can sooner be an indicator of his uncertainty on the way toward forced peacemaking. Jovic has not been an active danger to him at all, anyway. Karadzic still is, so Milosevic cannot, even if he wanted to, get rid of him so painlessly. Therefore the two of them will continue, in fact, to help each other in staying in power, regardless of the way they present themselves to the world as mutually irreconcilable. After all, there are already stories about the "government of national salvation," which Karadzic will soon establish in agreement with the "opposition" from Banja Luka. Milosevic will, certainly, not meddle too much with that.

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Daily Praises U.S. Role in Bosnian Peace Process

WS1512124495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Dec 95 p 5

[Commentary by Andrzej Kaniewski: "If It Were Not for the United States..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] The restoration of peace in Bosnia is primarily a success for the United States. It very deftly took over as mediator after the EU and the UN had failed for more than three years to find arguments persuasive enough for the warring sides to stop spilling blood.

As talks led by representatives of Europe and the UN failed one after another, Europeans began believing that Bosnia should be left on its own because, clearly, its desire to kill was far stronger than to live in peace. That belief was just as cynical as it was dangerous. After all, the Bosnian conflict had an impact on states which were not involved in it. It posed a threat to the new world order that was proclaimed just before the conflict broke out, a world order providing that confrontation be replaced by cooperation. The absurd conflict had to be stopped in the name of that new order.

After three years of hesitation, the United States, seen by many to be the leader in the new order, decided to join the game. Were it not for the U.S. determination, neither the negotiations in Dayton nor yesterday's ceremony in Paris would have been possible. These two events have shown that Europe cannot do without America.

This is a fact Russia, having tried to play the role the United States assumed, has to come to terms with. Naturally, Moscow's influence on the Serbs helped put an end to the war, but at the end of the day the cards were dealt in Washington.

Lithuanian Prime Minister on Relations, Problems

WS1412151095 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 25 Nov 95 p 36

[Interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius by Marek Ostrowski; place and date not given: "You Do Not Choose Your Neighbors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ostrowski] Do you have any complaints about Warsaw?

[Slezevicius] Our relations with Poland have never been better, never in the whole history...let us say in modern history.

[Ostrowski] This in spite of controversies ignited by at least three problems that happened in the past: the [military] operation led by General Zeligowski in 1920 taking Vilnius away from Lithuania; activities conducted by the Home Army in the Vilnius region; and military alliances during the years of occupation...?

[Slezevicius] When we came to power in 1993, we stated that the dialogue with Poland had been very difficult and extremely complicated until then. Earlier, there were attempts to find a language in which to talk about the occupation and other issues. However, from the very outset we kept saying that concentration on the future is far more important for our relations. We should leave history to historians. As you know, when signing the Lithuanian-Polish treaty, we made an assumption that it makes no sense to touch upon sore historic problems at present.

[Ostrowski] In Warsaw, I was pleasantly surprised that, despite all those historic conflicts, you offered Poland military cooperation in the form of a joint battalion and control over the airspace.

[Slezevicius] We are thinking about the future. History is not for the government to handle. I would like to strongly emphasize that military cooperation is very important for our mutual relations and efforts to become members of NATO and the EU. Poland has acquired much more experience in this field. Our independence is very young.

[Ostrowski] Is it not a paradox that it was more difficult for members of the anticommunist front, our fellow fighters against the Russian domination, to come to terms with Poland than it is for you, the postcommunists?

[Slezevicius] Well, policies pursued by the former government in many spheres, including foreign affairs, were not pragmatic. This applies to dialogue with Russia, Belarus, and Poland. We, however, have deliberately made pragmatism the foundation of our policies. After all, you do not choose your parents or neighbors. So, you have to work hard to have good relations. If Poland or Lithuania have internal problems and conflicts with neighbors, their integration with Europe will be much more complicated. We should abandon all of our local miseries on our way to the European Union.

[Ostrowski] Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski put it less diplomatically, saying that it would play into the hands of our powerful neighbor if our countries experienced ethnic conflicts and internal problems, argued with each other, and stayed out of any alliances—exactly as in 1939.

[Slezevicius] It is hard to disagree with such a warning. This is why we have negotiated a formula to resolve border problems with Belarus, even though it was not an easy task, because we never had a common historic border with that country, only the common border in

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the former Soviet Union. We have also resolved a very difficult problem of transit roads running across Kaliningrad Oblast. This occured in spite of the hostility displayed by the opposition, which dislikes our ability to ease tensions.

[Ostrowski] The opposition thinks that you renounce your principles too easily and that you are not patriotic enough—at least less patriotic than its members.

[Slezevicius] I do not know about other postcommunist countries, but it is a commonplace accusation in Lithuania. Some are patriots, and others are supposedly not. But Lithuanians are united on and think similarly about fundamental issues—the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Lithuania, for example. Meanwhile, certain politicians want to take the love for the homeland only for themselves, as if it were their property. This is why they say: You are a patriot, and you are not; this party is patriotic, and that one is not.

Life has shown, however, that the "patriotic parties" made many mistakes, and not only in foreign politics, but in economic reforms as well. In 1992, we were on the verge of a complete economic collapse—hyperinflation, nose-diving personal income, energy problems, shortages of hot water, long lines for gasoline, cold apartments. We came to power in a very difficult situation. The opposition does not like it when we remind them about it.

We are mainly interested in contacts with Poland.

We are now preparing a free trade agreement with Poland and count on your support in integration with CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] countries—Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Only thanks to pressure exerted by Polish Prime Minister Oleksy could our minister participate in the last CEFTA meeting as an observer.

[Ostrowski] But I hear in Vilnius that you are not all that interested in cooperation with CEFTA, counting rather on Scandinavian countries.

[Slezevicius] This is not true. The main direction in our foreign policy and foreign trade is Europe, to which we are moving through CEFTA countries. Priority, of course, goes to cooperation among three Baltic states—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Joint meetings are held by the council of ministers [of the above countries] and 19 standing committees. Also important is the cooperation with Scandinavian states as part of the "three plus five" initiative (three Baltic and five Scandinavian states). But Europe is the most important for us.

[Ostrowski] As the historic Great Lithuanian Princedom, modern Lithuania is a multinational state. It is inhabited by 8.5 percent of Russians, 7 percent of Poles, and a slightly smaller percentage of Belarusians and Ukrainians. What should be done to make each ethnic group happy that it lives in Lithuania?

[Slezevicius] It is a very important and delicate issue. If a country seeks integration with Europe, it cannot have internal problems and problems with its minorities. Therefore, we are trying to resolve those problems by applying all available methods—education and the mass media. For example, there are 120 Polish schools in Lithuania. Unfortunately, some politicians—and not only here—want to capitalize on the minority issue. We want a dialogue, and we want to support investments in those areas inhabited by ethnic minorities that are less developed than other regions of the country.

[Ostrowski] I have here a copy of a complaint sent to the Lithuanian and Polish presidents by the Lithuanian Union of Poles from the Vilnius District. They claim that the plan to expand Vilnius by 11,000 hectares "has no logical or economic grounds," will bring damages, and even can leave them without a means of livelihood. What is your side of the story?

[Slezevicius] It is not a problem of Vilnius only, but of all large cities that require more room for development. Privatization conflicts exist not only here. However, residents living around Kaunas who speak only Lithuanian cannot send letters to President Walesa because they have only one president. We discussed this issue with representatives of Polish organizations and introduced some corrections in our plans. This case will be submitted to parliament. But difficulties with returning the land to people who owned it 50 years ago are obvious.

[Ostrowski] The road from Warsaw to Vilnius is only 480 km long, but buses, although quite cheap and regular, travel an entire day, sometimes waiting for several hours on the border. Is this not a shame?

[Slezevicius] People say that a customs officer who cannot create a line is a bad worker. This is a huge problem. We would like to invest in border crossings and open new ones. We also need better coordination of border services and perhaps joint border control. This requires goodwill on the part of both sides. Political decisions have already been made on high, but on their way down they encounter many problems that some people very much like to create. They like lines, they like people who ask for something. This is one of the most shameful problems in our relations. I hope everything will change soon.

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Geremek on Elections, NATO, Previews Duma Vote

BR1512122995 Brussels LE SOIR in French 14 Dec 95 p 2

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Polish Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee, by Pol Mathil in Warsaw; date not given: "Poland, Caught Between Western Hesitations and Russian Frustrations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mathil] Poland has a new president. The Supreme Court, which has just validated his election, nevertheless concluded that Kwasniewski had lied. He therefore starts his mandate under difficult circumstances. The press is comparing him to Kurt Waldheim or Richard Nixon. Will we see a "Watergate" in Poland?

[Geremek] I believe that it does indeed amount to what can be described as an affair. There is only one logical solution and that would be Kwasniewski's personal decision to resign. But I do not believe we can expect such a decision. I therefore believe that the elections are now a closed chapter. The problem now is to know how the new president will be able to create the necessary climate of confidence.

[Mathil] To judge by the Polish press, that is not going to be easy.

[Geremek] It will be extremely difficult. Kwasniewski carries an enormous burden: a lack of confidence that threatens to cast its shadow over his mandate and his actions.

[Mathil] The Polish president has some particularly important prerogatives in the area of foreign policy. Will this policy now change?

[Geremek] I do not believe it will change under the new president. The priorities will remain the same, namely Poland's membership in the European Union and NATO. The new president has been committed to this for a number of years now. The main danger of this new presidency is linked rather to the way of exercising power, by which I mean the possibility of seeing a one-party system being created again by democratic means. Also, in the field of foreign policy, the real test of the president's intentions will be his choice of new ambassadors and, above all, of a foreign minister.

[Mathil] Is it true that he offered you the job?

[Geremek] No. I was not offered it. That would have been surprising. I am one of the opposition leaders. Without any change in the coalition government, it is difficult to see how I could join the government.

[Mathil] But has such a possibility not been raised as proof of openness on the part of the new presidency?

[Geremek] I do not believe the new president is prepared to go that far. What we hope is that the foreign, interior, and defense ministers do not simply become pretexts for sharing out the spoils of victory, and that these three ministries are entrusted to independent and neutral figures who are not members of the coalition parties, which means parties with their roots in the former regime.

[Mathil] Foreign policy in many Central and East European countries is now in the hands of the "postcommunists." Will the improvement in your relations with Russia, even if they are difficult, be facilitated by the comparable ideological origins of the present leaders of the two countries?

[Geremek] In Poland, as in Hungary, for example, communism is a closed book. For us it is an irreversible process. I cannot, however, say the same thing about certain other postcommunist countries, especially those of the former USSR. Poland's main problem is the possibility of the appearance within the former Communist Party, which is the main force in the government coalition, of a certain nostalgia for what were described as the "special" relations between our country and Russia. I believe that Poland needs good relations with Russia, but not "special" relations.

[Mathil] Could this nostalgia go as far as accepting Russia's veto on NATO enlargement?

[Geremek] The new president has made clear statements on this. But we do not know what the relations are going to be between the president and the political group that brought him to power. At this level, surprises are possible....

[Mathil] The latest meeting of NATO foreign ministers was not particularly encouraging for postcommunist countries seeking membership. According to the Polish press, NATO sought to play for time and shrink from any commitment to put back the timetable for the enlargement process.

[Geremek] Personally, I have no doubts: It is in the West's interest for Poland to be anchored in the major European institutions. Poland's membership in these organizations would ensure that the swinging of the political pendulum would not be able to influence the overall direction. We have undertaken difficult and painful changes that render our democratic development irreversible. But what we now need is hope. We now see in the West an emotional attitude that is favorable toward us, and also efficient aid programs, such as the EU's PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, but so far the West has not been able to provide an overall response to the major

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challenge of 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall, etc. This applies mainly to preparations for NATO enlargement.

[Mathil] Most observers believe that the communists and nationalists will win Sunday's [17 December] legislative elections in Russia. Is the democratic process irreversible in Russia?

[Geremek] The Russian elections are vitally important for Europe as a whole, but particularly for Poland, over which this giant neighbor casts its shadow. The possible choice for communists and nationalists would be an expression of the Russians' political frustration. Having said this, these elections will send a message on trends in Russia but will not be a turning point. On the other hand, the turning point could come with the 1996 presidential elections.

[Mathil] Why?

[Geremek] Because the presidential elections choose a leader. And in Russia people want not only economic performance but also order. And the search for a leader and for order does not create a climate conducive to democracy.

Freedom Union Leader on Postelection Scene

WS1412153495 Poznan WPROST in Polish 10 Dec 95 pp 17-18

[Interview with Professor Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Freedom Union Parliamentary Club, by Jerzy Slawomir Mac; place and date not given: "Added Value"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mac] What is the meaning of Lech Walesa's defeat on 19 November: the personal defeat of a man symbolizing change, the political defeat of the cluster of post-Solidarity parties and their program of reform, or the fall of the ethos and ideas Solidarity stood for?

[Geremek] Various political forces and people, including Lech Walesa himself, are responsible for that defeat. I would not think of it as personal defeat, however. He already has a place in history, and it is difficult to overestimate his accomplishments as leader of Solidarity. I would rate his presidency as average. Nothing bad has happened in these five years, though it is equally true nothing good has happened. If I gave him my support in the second round of elections, it is because I believed he would be capable of drawing conclusions from his first presidential term in office. One should be aware that Polish society is tired of historical divisions. The real problems, especially those that concern the younger generation, are on an entirely different plane.

[Mac] Jacek Kuron's program was an attempt to overcome these old divisions. Yet he received only half as many votes as Tadeusz Mazowiecki [in the presidential elections] five years ago. Isn't that yet another defeat for the Freedom Union [UW] and its style of politics?

[Geremek] It is a defeat for UW, but not disaster for its program. To a large extent, the first round of elections resembled the second because there was something definitive in the 5 November voting. Negative voting played an important role in both Walesa's and Kwasniewski's electorates. Jacek Kuron fell victim to this electoral logic. I am conviced he would have beaten Kwasniewski in the second round.

[Mec] How would you explain the fact that two-fifths of the vote for Jacek Kuron in the first round went to Aleksander Kwasniewski in the second?

[Geremek] UW declared its support for Lech Walesa immediately after the first round. We told him then that the UW electorate is not disciplined and has to be persuaded, that we need his help in this area. The president's bearing in the [first television presidential] debate on Sunday hurt our efforts. If not for the debate, many more of those who supported Jacek Kuron on 5 November would have switched votes to Lech Walesa.

[Mec] In reaction to its electoral defeat, the opposition has attempted to form an alliance of the democratic right or to revive the now-defunct OKP [parliamentary bloc of post-Solidarity parties]. Will UW join in?

[Geremek] I am skeptical about such proposals and think UW will not adopt this sort of strategy, though it remains an open question how to counter the growing dominance of one party, which not only has a majority in parliament, but also the highest office in the state and the structures associated with it: the judiciary system and the central bank. This ought to be discussed, keeping in mind that, among some of those wishing to recreate the OKP, are those who unmade it.

Parliamentary elections will be held in a year or a year and a half perhaps, and they will define Poland's political reality. They will be a true test.

[Mac] What sort of UW will enter these elections? A party as powerless as it is now, therefore systematically losing influence or, perhaps, as signaled at the last meeting of the party's National Council, one divided into two distinct factions? Does perpetuation of the existing model not lead to the marginialization of UW?

[Geremek] UW will enter the elections knowing what it wants: a modern and law-abiding Poland with a dislike for extremes. I shall defend the claim that UW represents a certain quality on the political scene

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in Poland because of its moderation, its variety of programs, and its acceptance of pluralism of beliefs. We have no differences on major points in our party. I think it is needed as it is.

[Mac] Will it be able to convince voters of this? The number of voters has diminished with each election.

[Geremek] The most important problem for UW is that, in subsequent stages of its growth, its unification and staff decisions, it has not obtained any added value. We have hoped for it each time but have not become a "value-added taxpayer," so to say. The most important question is the added value, which ought to translate into the program for the party, its internal cohesiveness and electorate. The latest moves, also relating to party membership decisions, should serve that end. Personal ambitions ought to be put aside to give way to joint action.

[Mac] How does UW want to create this added value? With a new concept of how to remain in opposition, or perhaps by participating in the structures of power that emerged after the 19 November elections?

[Geremek] UW is in opposition and will continue to be. This means it is trying to create an alternative program to that of the ruling coalition. It also has formulated its expectations regarding the methods of administering government. The first test of this rule will be the manner in which appointments are made to the positions of defense, foreign, and interior ministers, vital to Poland's raison d'etat. We do not expect these posts to be offered to our party because we are not a member of the ruling coalition. We also do not believe they should be the object of an internal "division of spoils" in the coalition because it would hurt the image of the new president and Poland's image in the world.

[Mac] Kwasniewski announced he will extend a proposal to people from outside the coalition to work in the president's chancellery. Have any such offers been made to UW or its politicians?

[Geremek] I have not heard of any such proposals made either to UW or its members. Besides, I would think it rather unserious for the new president to carry out his policies in such fashion. The presidential chancellery is an administrative, not a political, body. I am afraid there is the possibility of its becoming a fake structure, a peculiar surrogate of pluralism and national consensus, just as the Consultation Council set up before 1989. The first test of the president's intentions should be nominations to the three presidential ministeries, not just the structures of his office.

[Mac] Who ought to fill these positions?

[Geremek] It so happens that these three ministers now leaving are appropriate role models of heads of these ministeries, especially the interior minister and head of diplomacy. They are not associated with any political bloc and have been able to work independently on a professional basis, and it is untrue they are the president's men. His role was to act as a counterbalance to the government. I would like these ministeries to be headed by people who will similarly continue the traditions of 1989. The presidential ministers were well rooted in this independence tradition. I would like to make this clear: This year was a year of a breakthrough in the political system; the return to full power of the Democratic Left Alliance may signify danger to the new political order.

[Mac] Actually, why should the coalition wilfully give up these three large spoils since it can defend the argument before the outside world that its leader received 9 million votes?

[Geremek] For the common good, for the good of Poland's image. In the name of political effectiveness, the new president has campaigned on. It should be remembered that the legitimization of his electoral victory is shadowed by the political past of a system that was a contradiction to democracy. I would not like to cite drastic examples from European history, but at times the results of democratic elections puts the future of democracy in question. I think President-elect Kwasniewski has demonstrated he is aware of that danger by warning his party against triumphalism in statements just after the election.

[Mac] Do you trust his declarations?

[Geremek] Only actions can build trust. That is why I am impatiently waiting for the new president's first steps. It is also a question of how much the president can do alone without his party's backing. Unfortunately, I have noticed in the past few days that decisions of the president-elect were successfully blocked by members of the Democratic Left Alliance. That means Aleksander Kwasniewski is a captive of his political connections.

Kwasniewski Urges Respect for Lech Walesa

LD1412202395 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1802 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kielce, 14 Dec—Aleksander Kwasniewski has addressed Poles with a request for them to show appropriate respect for the outgoing president. "This is an important component part of political culture," he stressed.

"Lech Walesa has his place in the history of Poland; his contribution to the democratic process and the

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development of the country is enormous, a position that is above discussion, so he deserves thanks for his efforts and his many years of public activity," the president-elect sought to convince inhabitants of Kielce during a Thursday meeting.

Kwasniewski expressed the wish that the handover of the presidency should take place in a normal, dignified, and civilized way. "There is no point in sulking at the principles of democracy," he argued. "A true democracy is that in which there is one president and many former presidents; a lack of democracy arises where there is always and exclusively one president," he said.

Defense Ministry Official on Staffing Issues

WS1512101395 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 1-3 Dec 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Wlodzimierz Kaleta: "Cadres Above All"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *This year has been a tough one for military cadre management. The structural and organizational changes that have been going on in the Army, coupled with the paltry budget of the Ministry of National Defense [MON], have brought about the necessity of solving many additional problems. Brigadier General Jozef Buczynski, chief of the MON Cadre Department and the defense minister's plenipotentiary for Military Employees and the Conversion of Cadres, outlined these problems yesterday at an annual briefing for the heads and representatives of MON staffing departments. He evaluated the implementation of major projects, highlighting its strongest and weakest points.* [passage omitted]

This year, nearly 4,000 graduates of military academies—more than 1,500 officers and 2,000 warrant officers—have been hired by the Armed Forces to satisfy staffing needs. The Warsaw Military District got priority treatment; more than 700 graduates were sent there to meet the needs that arose due to the restructuring process and the creation of new military units.

More than 1,100 professional soldiers are contractors employed by the Army. The majority in this group are noncommissioned officers, approximately 1,000 people.

"One of the best examples of proper coping under the restrictive staffing limits is the Pomeranian Military District," says Brig. Gen. J. Buczynski. "As many as 90 percent of the contractual workers have been appointed to operational posts there."

The MON Cadre Department is closely watching the restructuring process in the Air Force and in the Home Air Defense Troops, in the course of which their organizational and staffing structure is to be finally developed. Unfortunately, this implies the necessity of huge staff reductions. Not much has been done in this field to date. No one has a vision of what the eventual organizational structure of these formations and the effects the changes will have on the cadre structure will be.

Now that Poland is part of the Partnership for Peace project and has become a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council, the issue of having our soldiers participate in UN peace missions is becoming particularly important. By September, some 2,000 men were involved in those missions. There are still not enough soldiers speaking foreign languages. Only some 2,000 men in the professional service speak English (mainly officers). Slightly more than half have more than an elementary knowledge of that language.

What does the structure of professional cadres in our Armed Forces look like? This year, as in the previous one, the number of promotions to colonel and lieutenant colonel could not exceed the projected number of dismissals of soldiers with these ranks from service. The order in which the servicemen were promoted was specified on special lists. This did not, however, prevent the growth of this group of officers. Last year, senior officers made up nearly 48 percent of the total officer corps. Although there were more than 50 percent fewer officers with the rank of colonel and lieutenant colonel, the number of majors grew by almost 1,500.

Almost 6,900 servicemen were nominated to the first and higher officer ranks: nearly 350 to colonel, more than 600 to major, and approximately 1,500 to captain, first lieutenant, and second lieutenant each. [passage omitted]

By the end of the year, probably some 4,800 people will be discharged from military service. The proportions of discharges in the particular corps have changed in comparison with the previous year. The majority of those discharged were officers, approximately 2,000. The main reason was resignations (70 percent). Those who left were predominantly 47-49 years old and eligible for retirement (22 percent of the total number of those discharged).

More than 80 percent of discharged officers are senior officers (57 percent last year). The number of resignations handed in by pilots has soared. As many as 104 have already left the service, and a further 14 will be discharged by the end of January 1996. What the cadres find most disturbing is that this group includes 64 pilots between the ages of 30 and 45, holding first-degree proficiency certificates, instructors who flew supersonic planes. This is the main reason that officer staffing in the

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Air Force and Home Air Defense Troops has dropped to about 80 percent.

The number of officers graduating from military academies also is declining. Nevertheless, staffing the Armed Forces for wartime (officers, warrant officers, officer cadets) came to nearly 100 percent. This was possible primarily thanks to raising the upper age limit for the reserve. [passage omitted]

The coming year will be particularly difficult for the MON Cadre Department. Its basic task will be to fix the number of permanent posts in the Armed Forces. What does that mean? That a way of reducing the number of officers and increasing the number of noncommissioned officers will have to be found.

So-called duplicative posts [widelkowe o podwojnym zaszeregowaniu] are to be eliminated, and the proportions of servicemen in the particular ranks are to be considerably changed. More and more employees of the Army—experts who will get mobilization assignments—are to be hired full-time.

"In implementing the tasks in the new year," said the head of the MON Cadre Department, "we must remember that every mistake we make deeply hurts our colleagues, always leaves a feeling of embitterment and disappointment with the decisionmakers."

The general listed many tasks pertaining to such issues as selecting cadres for the military units that are to cooperate with NATO troops, raising the professional skills of the cadres, and observing the principles of promoting and discharging men from the professional and contractual services. He also stressed that now that the Military Housing Agency has been formed and organizational changes have been carried out in the housing and billeting systems, it will be necessary to rationally disperse military cadres and employees from the dissolved military units within the new structures.

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Minister: Importance of Attending Paris Meeting

AU1412214895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Statement by Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu upon return from Paris peace conference on Bosnia—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu returned tonight from Paris where he attended the signing of the peace accord on Bosnia. In the statement he made upon arrival, Teodor Melescanu emphasized the significance of Romania's presence at this important event.

[Melescanu] Our presence in Paris had a double purpose: on the one hand, together with the other countries which attended the event, we discussed the way in which we could get involved in supporting the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The main conclusion we reached was to expand the exercise of the Pact on Stability in Europe to the territory of the former Yugoslavia. A declaration was adopted in this respect. Our objective was to give a very clear sign that we wish to reintegrate all the former Yugoslav republics into the European system as quickly as possible, while the sign of the European Union was that their approach to the European Union is desired. On the other hand, our objective was to encourage directly bilateral contacts between those countries.

This morning the ceremony took place. Presidents Milosevic, Tudjman, and Izetbegovic signed the Paris accords in the presence of the members of the Contact Group and of other invited quests, among them Romania, too.

I would only mention that everybody remarked that a very important step has been taken but that still a long road remains to be traveled. What the international community, the neighboring countries, other countries can do is to encourage and support and assist, but the process of peace and the real implementation of peace will ultimately depend on Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, on all those who signed the peace accords Paris.

I do not conceal the fact that there was a hope, a great hope that we also share, because peace in ex-Yugoslavia means for us a more secure and stable region and also means additional possibilities to develop our economic exchanges and to reduce and halt our great losses suffered during these more than three years of war, which, if we attempt to evaluate them again, amount to $7-8 billion.

UGIR, Budapest Delegation Discuss Cooperation

AU1412081395 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 5 Dec 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Oprea Georgescu: "Accord Between the Union of Industrialists of Romania and the Federation of Hungarian Industrialists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, 4 December, the delegation of the National Federation of Hungarian Industrialists [VOSZ], led by its president, Gabor Szeles, who is also president of the well-known firm Videoton; its vice president, Dr. Peter Vadasz; and its general secretary, Istvan Wimmer—a delegation that also includes owners and directors in various branches of activity—started a visit to Romania with a meeting held at the Bucharest Intercontinental Hotel with George Constantin Paunescu, president of the General Union of Romanian Industrialists [UGIR] and members of the leadership of the UGIR central apparatus.

The meeting with the UGIR president was followed by a meeting of the Hungarian delegation with Romanian President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, Minister of State Mircea Cosea, Trade Minister Petre Crisan, and the president of Romania's Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Aurel Ghibutiu, aimed at working out an accord of cooperation between the two organizations.

During the talks held between the two delegations, George Constantin Paunescu and Gabor Szeles emphasized the need to ensure mutual information for the benefit of the unions' members and pointed out economic objectives of joint interest and the importance of ensuring direct contacts between firms of the same nature in order to ensure concrete and normal relations between them.

The UGIR president outlined the problems confronting the Romanian economy in the current context of geopolitical restructuring, of the UGIR's relations with partners in this area, and of the need for representative patron organizations that are capable of asserting their viewpoint in relations with foreign partners.

"Our unions," said Mr. Paunescu, "are faced with the same problems and have the same goals. While in countries with an old market economy, there are bodies operating outside the government that support the economic proposals of the respective countries, in Romania, there have been no such bodies so far. For the time being, the economies of the countries in this area are complementary. The objectives that we set ourselves must be in accordance with our capabilities. Romania's industry is different from the way in which it is generally presented in the press. It has a balanced

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development, both horizontally as well as vertically, with small exceptions such as metallurgy and nonferrous metal processing. The lack of maintenance investment for over 20 years requires their updating. Romania has made large steps towards a market economy. A strong financial-banking network, mainly private, has been established, and it operates very well. Our legislation allows for setting up joint ventures with any firm in the world. As a result of cooperation accords signed with over 40 countries on all continents, it is possible to achieve rapid and secure contacts between various firms through UGIR. We can find resources and markets for our products in the East. Logistics and services in the financing-banking area we find mainly in the West. The idea of breaking up everything and starting anew is utopian. Similarly, it was also a big mistake to dissolve some planning and supply institutions. They should have been transformed in accordance with the principles of the market economy. At the International Congress of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs held in Bucharest in the fall of 1994, which was attended by 35 countries, we suggested that a body should be set up that would harmonize all the interest of the participants, and that this body should carry out its activity in Bucharest.

"We believe that the situation of this region, in the current process of geopolitical restructuring, is connected with the Black Sea. Hence, the Black Sea Parliament and the Black Sea Bank have been set up, which offer concrete conditions for cooperation in the area. Ukraine, southern Russia, Turkey, and the Balkans are located around the Black Sea. The construction of a highway around the Black Sea that will cost $18 billion has been envisaged, as well as a route that will transport hydrocarbons from the area of the Caspian Sea to Europe and certainly the Danube River, which is also the cheapest highway to which our economies are closely connected. We are convinced that the unions in our countries have the same principles of activity, namely, to make maximum use of the mutual economic advantage and to strive to attain maximum effectiveness, without political reticence and hard feelings."

Gabor Szeles, president of the Federation of Industrialists in Hungary said among other things:

"Cooperation between our economies, which is based on experience gained in the recent past, but also has older cooperation traditions, is yielding good results. Today, our goals are clearer, and we are striving to offer our members concrete and important programs. Therefore, we need concrete mutual information regarding the activity of our unions.

"Good cooperation between us will mean a step forward also for relations between our governments. Our meeting with Romania's leadership will certainly give us the opportunity for a fruitful exchange of ideas about the subjects that we can approach in our economic relations, based on business and not politics. With Romania's industry, we can find areas of international cooperation in this Europe that is moving towards unification. Apart from joint foreign trade projects and positions, it will be beneficial for our enterprises to coordinate regional activities, direct ties between counties. In this respect, we will grant direct support to the interested firms."

After George Constantin Paunescu and Gabor Szeles signed the cooperation accord, they noted the pleasant fact that economic exchanges between Romania and Hungary have doubled in recent years.

Today, after the Hungarian delegation's meeting at Romania's Chamber of Commerce and Industry, direct meetings will take place between representatives of Hungarian industrialists and of the UGIR and UGIR 1903.

PNTCD Head Views Dissensions Within CDR

AU1312145995 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 5 Dec 95 p 1

[Interview with PNTCD Acting President Ion Diaconescu by Oana Iurascu; place and date not given: "The Option of the President of the Democratic Convention of Romania for the PNTCD Deepens the Dissensions Between the PNTCD and the National Liberal Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Given the recent "formal" adherence of Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], to the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], we asked the PNTCD leader Ion Diaconescu to assess the short-term effects of that decision.

[Iurascu] Mr. President, in your opinion, how will your CDR partners receive Professor Emil Constantinescu's new quality as a PNTCD member?

[Diaconescu] They will have to understand that this was a necessity in order to meet the requirements of the law. This is a formal adherence to allow Emil Constantinescu to accede to a mandate in the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies. I repeat, we are dealing here with a mere formal adherence, since everybody knows that Mr. Constantinescu does not respond to any kind of regimentation. I believe that our CDR partners would have found it harder to accept him if he were to become a militant member of the PNTCD, since most of them prefer that he should not belong to any party. Nevertheless, the CDR protocols do not stipulate that our representative in the presidential elections must not belong to any political party.

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[Iurascu] Have you already worked out a list of requirements for appointing the CDR candidates for the local elections?

[Diaconescu] Only the Civic Alliance has such a list of requirements, which includes the criteria for candidate selection, but it is only a set of recommendations. However, a quantitative set of criteria to establish the balance of power within the CDR does not yet exist. In the territory, there are lists of local councillors and proposals for mayors made by the leadership of local CDR branches in accordance with their overall share. However, for the parliamentary elections, we will work out a detailed protocol to cover all groupings, because there are certain parties that otherwise would not have a place on the lists, given their current share in the territory. We will issue a quantitative list of requirements for each grouping, to which we will add the results of public opinion polls. According to these polls, the balance of power is clearly in favor of the PNTCD. All the other groupings together do not make up for our share. We do not intend to give up on our rights.

[Iurascu] The National Liberal Party [PNL] has complained of being discriminated against when it comes to its representation in certain local branches. How are you going to ease these tensions?

[Diaconescu] There have always been disputes on the eve of making up our electoral lists. There is going to be a life and death battle between the various groupings in this respect. Now, each one believes that it is the strongest. However, the PNL joined the CDR in circumstances that are familiar to all of us. Mr. Constantinescu's spokesperson is on the PNL's payroll, hence she probably has her own duties to fulfill. However, after the PNTCD congress next January, we will issue a quantitative list of requirements, in accordance with the share of each member grouping.

[Iurascu] What are the chances of an electoral cooperation protocol between the CDR and the Democratic Party [PD]?

[Diaconescu] The CDR Committee did not accept the recently submitted four-point electoral protocol. The PNTCD agreed to a technical cooperation with the PD—not a political cooperation—in order to ensure the correctness of the elections. However, the CDR considered that there is no point in accepting even this formula. The aversion shown by the Liberal Party '93, the Civic Alliance Party, and now by the PD, to our presidential candidate is a poor mark for the entire opposition. Let us hope that, at least in the second ballot of the presidential elections, they will find the necessary patriotism to overcome certain antagonisms and support the candidate who will qualify on behalf of the opposition.

Differences Between CDR Leaders Viewed

AU1312140995 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 5 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Lucian Gheorghiu: "Emil Constantinescu Will Run for Senate on the Lists of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] "Emil Constantinescu will run for senate on the lists of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD]"—this was the "bombshell" that Ion Diaconescu [acting PNTCD president] disclosed at yesterday's PNTCD news conference. In order to conform to the provisions of the electoral law, Constantinescu [president of the Democratic Convention of Romania—CDR] will formally join the PNTCD. [passage omitted] Likewise, the PNTCD interim leader categorically said that Emil Constantinescu will not be able to run for the PNTCD presidency. One should note that Constantinescu's intention to officially join the PNTCD was not going to be made public just two months before the party's congress. Nevertheless, alarmed by press speculations about a possible Constantinescu candidature for the position of PNTCD president, Ion Diaconescu no longer kept the "secret." A number of PNTCD rank and file members were not very happy with the idea of having the current CDR leader as their party colleague. It is not excluded that there should be some unrest within the PNTCD in this connection. [passage omitted]

At the recent Alba Iulia festivities [devoted to Romania's national day], Emil Constantinescu said that if the CDR takes over the power, he will no longer allow the dignitaries to be involved in business.

At yesterday's PNTCD news conference, the party's interim president said that the PNTCD cannot demand the common members to give up their business relations and that he wished the leaders to be involved only in politics. However, Ion Diaconescu did not say that the leaders should be obliged to give up their business affairs.

At the same time, Diaconescu confirmed his recent statement to AM Press, saying he agrees with the Democratic Party's [PD] proposal for electoral cooperation, a proposal launched by the PD two months ago and discussed at a high level in mid-October.

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Federal

Kontic Welcomes Signing of Peace Accord in Paris

AU1412192695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Statement by Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic on 14 December, place not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] I would say that this is a day to remember, that this is a historic day. We are talking about the victory of peace and human dignity. We are talking about the victory of peace forces over those forces that had been striving for the war option in the period behind us.

I am deeply convinced that peace suits all the peoples in this region, that peace suits all the citizens living in this region. The war only brought human suffering, destruction, and loss of human life.

The peace that was signed in Paris today is bringing progress and property to all the peoples and citizens in this region. When I say this, I cannot hide my delight with the fact that the peaceful policy conducted by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the past years was crowned today with the signing of the peace agreement.

I would also like to use this opportunity to pay tribute to the mixed delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic, which made the crucial contribution to the peace agreement at the negotiations in Dayton. However, if the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is really to play the role of the factor of peace and stability in the Balkans right to the end, I think that it is necessary for the international community to make a few more energetic moves. When I say this I primarily think that instead of suspending the sanctions it is necessary that the Security Council pass as soon as possible a resolution on the final lifting of the sanctions. In addition, it is necessary to enable the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to reintegrate quickly into the international community, which practically means the return of our country to the United Nations and the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe]. It is necessary to normalize relations between Yugoslavia and the international financial organizations, between Yugoslavia and international trade organizations. If this happens in the near future, and I hope it will, then Yugoslavia will indeed be able to play its role of the factor of peace and stability in this region to the end.

However, I would also like to stress that the signing of the peace agreement in Paris does not mean the final victory of peace, and the international community has a very great responsibility for the consistent implementation of the peace agreement. If the international community and the multinational forces in Bosnia- Herzegovina and the Srem-Baranja region treat all the parties as equal and have an unbiased attitude toward all the parties, then I am convinced that peace in this region will finally be established and that it will last.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the Serb Republic and peace, and to wish them the strengthening of measures of confidence and cooperation with the peoples with whom they live there, as well as rapid development and prosperity.

Regarding the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, I would say that it certainly has an exceptionally great responsibility for the consistent implementation of both the Dayton agreement and the agreement on the Srem-Baranja region. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also has great responsibilities regarding our internal problems, the development and recovery of the economy, and our final reintegration in the international community.

'A Day To Remember'

LD1412175295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG) — Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said that the peacemaking policy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was crowned today with the signing in Paris of the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"I must say first of all that it is not possible to talk about the signing of the peace agreement in Paris without a certain measure of enthusiasm, without emotion. I would say this is a day to remember, a day for history," Kontic told reporters in the Palace of the Federation.

"It is a victory for peace and human dignity. It is a victory of forces of peace over the forces which in the past period have been advocating the war option," he said.

UK 'Willing' To Help Rebuild Yugoslav Economy

LD1512001595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2359 GMT 14 Dec 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 14 (TANJUG) — Under-Secretary at the British Ministry of Trade and Industry Neil Thornton and Charge d'Affaires of the British Embassy in Belgrade Ivor Roberts said on Thursday that British companies were willing to help rebuild the Yugoslav economy.

Speaking at a news conference in Belgrade, Thornton said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro) needed skilled part-

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ners and could find them among Britain's big firms in the telecommunications, railway, power and other industries.

Thornton met also with Yugoslav businessmen later in the day.

He said he foresaw no special obstacles, now that the anti-Yugoslav sanctions of three and a half years had been removed, to Yugoslavia's setting up with the European Union the same relations that the defunct socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had had.

Thornton promised to do his best to help Yugoslavia establish relations with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other international financial institutions.

Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce President Mihajlo Milojevic said that Yugoslav companies were short of working capital for the purchase of raw materials for reviving production, and that Yugoslav assets in foreign banks should be deblocked.

Serbia

Milosevic Assesses Accord, Talks With Clinton

AU1412183895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed listeners, we have just received a special statement that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic gave to Radio and Television of Serbia and TANJUG after the end of the Paris peace conference.

In reply to a question asked by correspondent Zoran Jevdjovic on his assessment of the Paris conference, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said the following:

[Begin recording] [Milosevic] The Paris conference represents a symbolic end to the long road towards peace that was defined in Dayton in all the elements of the peace accord signed today.

I am sure that this moment, and I would call this a historic day, should mark a turning point towards peace, understanding, and cooperation in the region of the Balkans. It is high time all the peoples in the region turned to economic recovery, development, buildup, and mutual cooperation. A great contribution has been made to the interests of all nations and all people who live in the Balkans and I am sure that this peace that was symbolically signed in Paris today is in the interest of all nations and all people, all states and regions, and, I would say, of Europe in general.

I am sure that every side will do everything with a view to respecting the provisions of the peace agreement and to implementing them entirely.

[Jevdjovic] What was certainly of particular interest today was your intensive contacts on this occasion in Paris with the most prominent U.S. representatives, and, I would say, several meetings with U.S. President Bill Clinton. How do you assess your meetings with the U.S. President?

[Milosevic] Well, to put it briefly, the main characteristic of the meetings was doubtlessly an openness [otvorenost] and mutual understanding. I am sure that we are facing a full normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and the United States and an intensive cooperation.

[Jevdjovic] We have heard that the festive dinner was an occasion to continue the dialogue that was formally held on two occasions today: at a joint meeting with and a special reception held by President Clinton.

[Milosevic] That is true. We continued talks during the day and I think that this conversation was very useful.

[Jevdjovic] Tell us about another issue that certainly represented a very important, how shall I put it, a very significant fact before the very beginning of the conference. This is the issue of Sarajevo. How can you assess the way this issue was generally solved, considering the fact this process has now been brought to the end?

[Milosevic] The Dayton accord envisages a series of provisions that guarantee freedom, prevent discrimination, make possible a free choice of the place of residence, protect security of all people and all citizens in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I think it is good you asked that question as I would like to take this opportunity to address especially the citizens of Sarajevo.

There is no reason either for fear or upset. In the transitional period, there will be enough time to coordinate all wishes with possibilities. It is clear that the war has ended. One should remove from the scene the mechanism of thinking under war conditions. One should begin to think of the way peace will be organized with the engagement of the entire international community, of course including above all the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as well. I am sure that we shall successfully solve many concerns, many, I would say, justified concerns of the citizens of the Serb part of Sarajevo. I think that they should have confidence both in us and the international community and I believe that this will be so.

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[Jevdjovic] Mr. President, later on this evening, at the end of what I would call a successful visit to Paris and the end of the Paris conference, you are expected to meet the host, French President Jacques Chirac. How do you assess and what do you expect of that meeting?

[Milosevic] To be most honest, I expect us to create conditions for renewing and resuming full cooperation between Yugoslavia and France. There are all conditions for that. After all, I have seen at several informal meetings with President Chirac today that this opinion, this approach is mutual and I am sure that our relations will develop in accordance with our traditional friendship.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you. [end recording]

Serbian Socialist Party Hails Paris Agreement

LD1412190395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG) — The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] welcomes the signing of the peace agreement in Paris and believes that peace has finally won, says today's announcement of the SPS.

"The political forces that have been advocating a peaceful and just solution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and, above all the principled and persistent peace policy of President Slobodan Milosevic, have won.

"With this act stability is returning to our region, the rights and interests of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic are being justified, and the road toward real equality of people and a normal life for all citizens is opening up.

"With the victory of peace a new period in relations in the Balkans and in Europe is beginning because the biggest obstacles toward development and equal cooperation are being removed.

"The SPS considers that with the agreement in Paris, the prospects for development, confidence, and cooperation in the region are clearly being opened up, and with its policy of peace and equality, this agreement will continue to contribute to the prosperity of nations, states, and all citizens of this region," the SPS announcement signed by Secretary General Milomir Minic says.

SPS's Percevic Appraises Dayton Accord

AU1512112295 Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 95 pp 4-6

[Interview with Goran Percevic, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Serbia, by Slobodan Savic; place and date not given: "Bosnia Unique, in Two Parts"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Savic] Can Serbia and Yugoslavia be happy with the agreement achieved in Dayton, since our population, which is inclined toward a mythological approach to the world, is always afraid of losing in peace something that it has gained in war?

[Percevic] There is no doubt that the Dayton agreement is a victory for both the FRY and the Socialist Party of Serbia. It is first of all the victory of a political concept that has resulted from the persistent search for a diplomatic and political solution to the overall Yugoslav crisis. I think that the Dayton agreement shows how successful this policy has been. In short, this agreement means that peace in the FRY has finally been defended. Peace has also been achieved for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, first of all for the Serb population there, but also for all the other nations.

[Savic] Why do you use the formulation "peace has been defended?"

[Percevic] It is obvious that a difficult period is behind us, finally over. We are now entering a new age. The ultimate aim of some extremist circles and political powers abroad, which was supported by nationalist and separatist political powers in our own country, was to break up the whole of Yugoslavia. This was made public at the Hague conference. Its core was not only to challenge Serb rights in Bosnia and Croatia, but also to break up the two- member federation, Yugoslavia, and to achieve a special status for Kosovo, Vojvodina, Sandzak, and the Bay of Kotor. Once we know what their ultimate aim was, we can assess the final result of the achieved agreement. They tried to reach the goal that I am talking about in two ways, at least regarding the part of Yugoslavia that was re-established as the FRY, by supporting certain political forces in our country that would have quietly accepted such an aim (the imposition of the sanctions that exerted enormous pressure on the state, its economy, and the citizens, for example), and, which was even more brutal, by trying to drag the FRY into the war, which idea was, unfortunately, supported by certain political forces both in Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic. Both scenarios have been prevented and the relations that existed in the quartet of the United States, Russia, the EU, and the Islamic world, which were very unfavorable for us at the very beginning of

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the Yugoslav crisis, have considerably improved now. Not only do many Western politicians and diplomats admit their mistakes, but we have also preserved peace within the FRY and reached a just solution in Bosnia. The Serb population in Bosnia has been granted equal rights, it has the Serb Republic, and we are coming out of all this without sanctions, which means that our international position has been strengthened, since we have possibilities for economic and every other development.

Serbia Will Not Give Up

[Savic] We have survived both this war and the sanctions, among other things, with the motto "Serbia will not give up," but have we given anything up in Dayton, since this is always the case when dealing with great international powers? In other words, what concessions have been made, what have we obtained, and what have we lost? People in Yugoslavia as well as in Bosnia are still confused, distrustful, and cautious.

[Percevic] I think that we have come out of the whole Yugoslav crisis in a way that has defended and preserved both our national pride and our national dignity and independence. Our aim was to achieve equality, nothing more than that. Our aim was to reach a good compromise, which would not give rise to new conflicts, and exactly such a compromise was reached by the three sides in Dayton. The Dayton agreement is the international verification of the values for which we have fought from the very beginning.

[Savic] Let me use a popular expression for the present status of Bosnia-Herzegovina: "It is unitary and in two parts." This is what we achieved in Dayton. How will this operate in practice, what will the ties be like between the FRY and the Serb Republic, and will, together with the suspension of the sanctions, the blockade on the Drina also be lifted? What prospects are there for a merger and cooperation between the FRY and the Serb Republic?

[Percevic] It is difficult to predict now what the details will be like in the near or more distant future. But it is essential that priorities have been achieved, peace achieved, and the further suffering of the people ended, which could have happened even earlier had the Serb Republic leadership accepted the Contact Group plan. If we look back at that period, we see that thousands of people died for no reason, since nothing has been achieved anyway. This has been stopped now: The Serb Republic has become an official entity, the Serb people have been granted equal rights, and these were the main aims. The Serb Republic will have the same kind of relations with Yugoslavia as the Croatian-Muslim Federation with Croatia. It is only natural that these relations will be very close, because these are two parts of the same nation, but we should not go in for political star-gazing now.

[Savic] What will happen to the Knin Krajina, Srem, and Baranja? The Erdut agreement is also being interpreted as a "peaceful reintegration into Croatia."

[Percevic] The Erdut agreement guarantees several key issues, which are the best that could be reached now. This is, first of all, the solution to this problem in a peaceful way. This agreement does not prejudice a political solution, but it leaves certain things to further political negotiations. Our attitude has not changed in this respect. We shall accept any solutions that are also accepted by the Croatian and the local Serb leaderships.

[Savic] The sanctions have been suspended, but they have not been lifted. There has remained the so-called outer sanctions wall. Is the regulation of the relations within Serbia, principally in Kosovo, as well as Vojvodina and Sandzak, a condition for the formal removal of the sanctions?

[Percevic] Regardless of various speculations and assumptions, I can say that no serious member of the international community challenges the territorial integrity of the FRY and Serbia. This issue was not discussed at the peace negotiations. This is my direct impression from talks with various politicians, both in the East and in the West. The most powerful argument for Serbia is that it has succeeded in keeping the peace among its nations during the Yugoslav crisis, although a third of our population are non-Serbs. The only way in which national issues can be solved in Serbia is through democracy. The members of the national minorities in Serbia already have all their rights granted to them by international conventions. In other words, the integration processes in Serbia will develop into integration processes in the Balkans, with our neighbors, and also with Europe and the whole world.

We Have Regained Our Traditional Friends

[Savic] A new Serbia should develop now. It should be open toward its neighbors, the EU, and the world as a whole. How will the Socialist Party develop the new state and with whom? Will some forces close to you join this initiative, will you, in other words, ask them for help or offer them the chance to cooperate with you?

[Percevic] On this issue, I can say that our attitude has been known since the establishment of the present Serbian Government, when President Milosevic invited all the political parties to cooperate. The most important thing for us now is to make politics a public affair, whose aim is to help people to live better. We would

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not like the success of politics as a public affair to be measured by the quantity of nasty words addressed to one's political enemy, but rather by the degree and the quantity of solutions that this policy offers the man in the street, which enable him to have a better quality of life. With the removal of the sanctions, the normalization of our international position has been achieved and all those political powers have been pushed into the background that have constantly supported political extremism and chauvinism. A new political climate is being created in Serbia that will enable a political life in which there will be no powerful confrontations or polarizations, which were characteristic of the period behind us, in which the development of our democratic institutions was put at stake, first of all through activities outside parliament and non- democratic and aggressive behavior in parliament. [passage omitted]

DS's Djindjic Welcomes Signing of Peace Accord

AU1412172695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Statement by Democratic Party, DS, President Zoran Djindjic on 14 December; place not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Dayton agreement has put an end to the horrible four-year-old war, but for the peace plan to be implemented, this agreement needed to be formally signed. The signing in Paris today in fact represents the end of a long-lasting but successful peace process.

We hope that in the implementation of the peace plan, the Serb Republic and the Serbs from the other side of the Drina River will be equal to other citizens of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, that they will be satisfied with the signing of the plan in this way, that they will finally be able to turn to economy, culture, and their future, that they will no longer have to deal with the issues of war, and that they will no longer fear for their existence.

The signing in Paris in fact represents preparations for what is yet to evolve, namely a normal life and return to everyday worries for the people who have lived the last four years in war.

DSS's Kostunica: Peace Accord 'Only Solution'

AU1412173495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Statement by Vojislav Kostunica, leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia, DSS, on 14 December; place not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] We must hope that the signing of the peace agreement in Paris indicates the beginning of the end of the horrible civil war in the former Yugoslavia, a war that could have been avoided.

Yes, in these conditions this was the only solution. We should now wait and see how, from the political point of view, an unusual state creation such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a single country that is arranged in a way that hardly any country has been arranged in the political history of the world, will resolve those issues that were not resolved in Paris.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Assesses Paris Conference, Accord

AU1412195995 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Dec 95

[Interview with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Paris on 14 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bulatovic] I am personally proud that, as a member of the Yugoslav delegation, I attended this meeting and that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at its head, made a very significant and recognizable contribution to the overall peace process crowned here in Paris today.

[Jevdjovic] In your opinion, what does that in fact mean for the future of, that is, the future position of the FRY and its relations with most important states of the world?

[Bulatovic] I think that we are still facing a lot of work, not only as regards the implementation of this accord which should really bring about and ensure peace, but in the sense of constant work on intensifying and improving our arguments which are indisputable. This negotiating process is, as you know, identical with the period of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina [as heard], but intensified. With the intensified inclusion of the United States, it has been brought into the crucial stage in the past few months. To be more precise, since the beginning of this year we managed to present to the world the force of our arguments, to show that the media image that had been created about the FRY and about the Serb people outside the FRY, is absolutely not true.

For instance, today one could see in all those numerous everyday diplomatic contacts, one could see to what extent people are becoming more relaxed toward us, and how little they still know about the real position and real intentions of the FRY policy and even less about the real reasons for the war in Bosnia.

I think that this is the time when we can realistically do much more and assert in the international community

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the accepted values which are a constituent part of the internal political life and democratic development of the FRY. This is the key to our integration into the international community.

Opposition: Accord 'Positive' But 'Capitulation'

LD1412183995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 14th Dec (SRNA) — Novak Kilibarda, chairman of the People's Party of Montenegro, today described the signing of the Dayton agreement in Paris as a positive historic act but also said that "peace will not be restored unless the Serbs in Sarajevo are guaranteed full security."

"I personally think that this is a complete defeat of the Serb national policy," Kilibarda said, adding that Messrs. Clinton, Kohl, and Chirac will have to protect Serb interests in Serb Sarajevo.

"If this does not happen, it is beyond any doubt that a fresh massacre of the Serb population will take place," Kilibarda went on to say, noting that "there should be a dense deployment of international forces in Serb Sarajevo who would guarantee peace and survival of the population."

Kilibarda said that another important issue arising in the wake of the signing of the peace agreement is the economic relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic.

"The one who initiated all the movements of the Serb population in Bosnia-Herzegovina and who signed the capitulation of Serb interests is now forced to repent by planning the economy of the country by taking into account the interests of the Serb people in the Serb Republic," Kilibarda said.

He stressed that the blockade on the Drina river is expected to be lifted in the course of today.

"If the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina recognize each other and the blockade remains in force, that will be a historically unprecedented case," Kilibarda concluded.

Kosovo

Albanian Parties on 'Marginalization' in Paris

AU1412140995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Seven political parties in Kosova have sent a joint letter to the Paris Conference in which they demand that the representatives of Kosova participate in this conference and other conferences on the former Yugoslavia. Here is a telephone report by Qani Mehmeti from Prishtina to inform you of the contents of this letter:

[Mehmeti] In a letter sent to the Paris Conference, the Parliamentarian Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, the National Unity Party, and the People's Party of Kosova state that, despite the character and the proclaimed objectives of the London conference and the conference that is being held in Paris today, we are deeply surprised that the Kosova issue has been ignored and that its legitimate representatives are absent from the main negotiating table.

We, the Albanian political parties in Kosova represented in the Kosova parliament as well as those outside it, as part of the general political movement of Albanians in Kosova, express our deep dissatisfaction at this unacceptable marginalization of our cause at this international conference that pretends to bless peace on the territories of former Yugoslavia. The presence there today of five former constituents of the former Federal Yugoslavia as independent states that should be reciprocally recognized and the absence of Kosova, which was also one of the equal constituents when Serbia started its hegemonic march in the former Yugoslavia, cannot but be distressing and deeply depressing for the Kosovar people, the letter says.

We think that, without a just solution to the Kosova issue and in general that of of the Albanian nation in the former Yugoslavia, it will not be possible to overcome crises and prevent future conflicts in the region. On the contrary, the fact that the position of the Albanian people is not properly designated will bring new dangers for the fragile peace in the region, as the Albanian people cannot endure enslavement under the Serbian occupation forever.

Meanwhile, an expeditious and just solution to the Kosova issue and the position of Albanians in the former Yugoslavia implies the recognition of Kosova's independence, which will ensure peace and long-term cooperation in the Balkans.

We address you, honorable gentlemen of the Paris Conference, to inform you that all the decisions of your conference that may be taken without the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Kosovar people are unacceptable for the Albanians and place us under no obligation, the letter says.

For the same reasons, the Albanian Liberal Party of Kosova expressed its discontent with the Paris Conference.

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Commentary Notes U.S. Understanding, Support

AU1512074795 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 14 Dec 95 p 5

[Commentary by Enver Maloku: "A Signal for the Future Status of Kosova"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It is known that the United States is very careful in establishing diplomatic and official relations with states that are in the process of creation. Over the past years, Kosova has encountered good understanding and great support from the United States. Through the visits and large presence of U.S. diplomats and officials and frequent visits of congressmen and senators, analysts and journalists, as well as humanitarian organizations, the United States has demonstrated a special interest in Kosova. In many cases, the U.S. congressmen have demanded the opening of a U.S. office in Kosova, but this issue has been postponed due to the lack of security for the personnel who would work there.

On the other hand, the visits of Kosova representatives to Washington have also been on the increase. The chairman of Kosova [Ibrahim Rugova] visited Washington twice this year and on both occasions he met U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, the Republican majority leader, Senator Robert Dole, etc.

The opening of the Kosova office in Washington will strengthen the contacts and cooperation, and will perhaps lead to the opening of a U.S. office in Kosova soon.

Talking about the offices or representations of Kosova abroad, it should be mentioned that offices have been opened in Tirana, Brussels, London, etc., and they are functioning well. There are efforts to expand this network of Kosova's representation abroad, particularly in those countries that need them most. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, the opening of Kosova offices in influential countries augurs another phase: that of a positive internationalization of the Kosova issue and the Albanian question in general. [passage omitted]

Washington Office Underlines State 'Legitimacy'

AU1512083395 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 13 Dec 95 p 2

[Commentary by G. Mulliqi: "A Step Toward Further Affirmation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As new relationships are established in the Balkans, the Albanians are rightly hurrying not to fall behind others in finally solving the problems that have bedevilled them for centuries. However, if we properly analyze the circumstances and what has been done or rather what has not been done to internationalize the problem of Kosova, above all by our own state, we see that, realistically, it has been very difficult to achieve what we have wished. There are nevertheless promising signs that Kosova as an independent entity in the area of the former Yugoslavia is heading toward international recognition. The reception of the president of Kosova by the most senior officials of the United States last week and of Germany yesterday, in order to discuss the position of people situated as the people of Kosova are, is an eloquent testimony. The agreement that President Rugova reached with U.S. State Department officials to open a Kosova office in Washington is also a step toward Kosova's recognition in international circles.

The opening of this office, which will in fact be the representation of the state of Kosova in the United States, had been in the air for a long time, and President Rugova had announced that preparations to open it were under way. Meanwhile, during his most recent visit to the most senior U.S. officials in Washington, according to the explanations he gave in New York, the Kosova information office in the U.S. capital has been declared open, meaning that it is an accomplished fact. The opening of Kosova's representation in the capital of the world's superpower is a great achievement for the diplomatic work of the Kosova leadership, and is especially a reflection of President Rugova's authority and a further expression of gratitude for his policy in leading the Albanian movement toward the independence of Kosova. It also underlines the legitimacy of the state of Kosova, whose construction of course still calls for serious work and effort from all Albanians wherever they are. It is necessary to open such offices in influential European capitals too, and in other states, when the opportunity occurs, because they will help to strengthen the state of Kosova in the future. Their importance is still greater when we have so many exiles and when there is an increasing need for the Kosova state authorities to care for them.

We have not been the only people fighting for freedom to see the need to open such information offices. The Palestinians, who are still striving to win their own freedom conclusively, created their representations abroad, or rather PLO information offices in countries that supported their cause. They were very aware of the role these offices could play in advancing the Palestinian independence movement, even though they did not

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possess diplomatic status at that time. As we have seen, the Palestinians, through their self-sacrifices, succeeded in winning sympathy for their struggle for freedom from decisionmaking bodies.

We believe that the Albanians have already won this sympathy and that the opening of the Kosova information office in Washington is one more sign of this. Our efforts to realize genuine independence must not end here.

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